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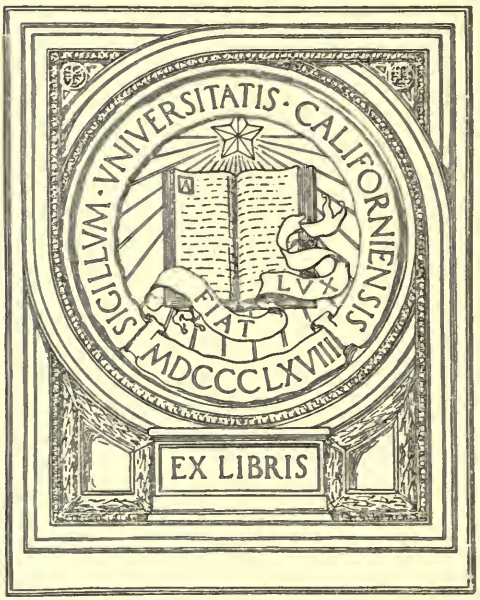

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View of the house in which Lester F. Ward was born.

From a photograph.

GLIMPSES OF THE COSMOS

BY

LESTER F. WARD

COMPRISING HIS MINOR CONTRIBUTIONS NOW REPUBLISHED, TOGETHER WITH BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF ALL HIS WRITINGS

The writings by which one can live are not the writings which themselves live.—JOHN STUART MILL.

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Portrait of the author at the age of 21.

From a photograph.

Portrait of the author at the age of 27.

From a photograph.

GLIMPSES OF THE COSMOS

BY

LESTER F. WARD

VOLUME I

PERIOD, 1858–1871. AGE, 16–30

Youth is a blunder, manhood a struggle, old age a regret.—DISRAELI.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1913

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SARAH C. COMSTOCK

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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FIRST PERIOD:—Exuberance, enthusiasm, and egotism of youth. The only attempt at fiction.

SECOND PERIOD:—Moral and patriotic zeal and fervor. Letters from the army.

THIRD PERIOD:—Disillusionment in matters of belief and resentment at false teachings.

> My only desire is to know the truth, my only fear to cling to error.—GEORGE ELIOT.

> Had religion been true to its nature and function, as wide as morality and humanity, it should have been the bond of unity to hold mankind together in one brotherhood, linking them in good feeling, good will, and good work toward one another; but it has in reality been that which has most divided men, and the cause of more hatreds, more disorders, more persecutions, more bloodshed, more cruelties, than most other causes put together.—HENRY MAUDSLEY.

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Preface

THERE is scarcely anything that I have been more frequently asked to do than to republish in compact and accessible form my numerous lesser published writings, scattered throughout so many periodicals, and inaccessible to most readers. It was suggested that the articles be classified by subjects, but I did not wish to do this. The only plan of publication that has ever had any attraction for me was the one here adopted, viz., a strictly chronological arrangement of everything, great and small, good, bad, and indifferent, that has ever emanated from my pen and found its way into print, exclusive, of course, of books, and also exclusive of large illustrated memoirs and monographs appearing in the Annual Reports and other publications of the United States Geological Survey.

The chief attraction of this form of publication arises out of its biographical aspects. Everyone who is at all drawn toward an author desires to know as much as possible of his personal history and character, and he is constantly reading between the lines of his books to get glimpses of the man himself. The relatively few who are inter-

ested in my books do this regularly, and many, not content with this, write me letters inquiring how I came to write them, what influences led me into certain lines of investigation or speculation, and manifesting an intense interest in me personally. While I cannot satisfy this curiosity by writing an autobiography, such persons will be partially appeased with a complete view of my literary career, and such a view is well supplied by a chronologically arranged series of my published writings. For these fill up the intervals between the books, and show, as nothing else can, the influences that were at work in these intervals, leading up, as it were, in each case to the final effort that should round out the growing volume of thought, of which the minor contributions were but premonitions, the mere picket skirmishes before the battle.

The objection to the attempt to classify the papers by subjects—botany, geology, paleontology, biology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, etc.—is that all these subjects are mutually related and cannot be wholly separated. Of course, between a paper in which I describe a hundred new species of fossil plants and one on the principles of social mechanics there seems to be as wide a chasm as can be conceived of, but when, under social statics, which is one of the great subdivisions of social mechanics, I am obliged to range the principle of sympodial dichotomy, supposed to be a strictly botanical principle, and little understood by botanists themselves, and

to show that it is the main principle governing cosmic, organic, and social evolution, we see that the two apparently so remote ends of the series are brought together, and that all nature is ultimately one. Still more intimately, of course, are biology, psychology, anthropology, and sociology interwoven, and all attempts to treat them independently would fail. Certainly such would be the case with my writings, for I have never been able to treat any subject except in its relations to all other subjects, and my main purpose has always been to point out those relations.

Another objection to that method is that it would necessarily exclude all other writings. If a few of the supposed best papers were to be thus selected the remainder of the supposed inferior ones would have no claims. If the cream is skimmed off, the milk must be thrown away. Now, while there are, no doubt, degrees of worthiness among them, such degrees are not always measured by the length. They subsist between the longer ones as well as between the long and the short. They also depend upon the reader's judgment, and I would not assume to judge for him. With a very few exceptions, each of my papers, whatever its length, contains at least one thought, and many of these thoughts have never been expressed but once by me, and this may have been in a small and seemingly very unimportant paper.

My object now is not, of course, to present to the world a connected body of thought, but to put into accessible form all the thought that I have

ever given to the world. This these volumes, taken in connection with my books, will accomplish. And the reader will find between the essays and the books as little repetition as he finds between the books the mselves. The only repetition he will find anywhere in my writings is such as necessarily arises out of the fact that they all belong to a single system of thought, emanating from a single brain. Even from those who know my books only, the criticism has not been that of iteration, but of the reverse, viz., inconsistency. To such criticism my reply, in so far as I have ever made any, has been that I have not aimed at consistency, that my books represent the growth of my mind during a period of a quarter of a century, and this the period when the progress of the world has been the most rapid in the history of our race. Under such circumstances there is no occasion to apologize for inconsistencies. A consistent writer would be one who wholly failed to keep pace with the age, and who would have become a voice from the past.

Now in these minor contributions this aspect of the subject receives a special emphasis. If my books represent the growth of a single mind during this period, my lesser efforts show the precise manner in which this growth took place. While the books may indicate the changes from childhood to youth and from youth to maturity, the essays show the metabolism, so to speak, of my mind, its histological development. There has been psychic differentiation and psychic integra-

tion and many of the short steps have been thus recorded.

But these essays accomplish other things besides this. Many of them, especially the later ones, supplement my system, as set forth in my books, by expanding the latter along special lines. Every writer knows that in order to preserve symmetry in his books he must resist the temptation to enlarge special subjects out of proportion to others. If these subjects are to be enlarged, it must be done in other ways and places. Thus a large number of my minor contributions are simply the extension of threads taken up in the books and cut short in deference to the demands of literary form.

But it must be admitted that many of the very short papers, especially the early ones, are really worthless, certainly not worth publishing for any intrinsic merit, and it will naturally, and very properly, be asked, why, then, include them? Even those who appreciate my contributions as a whole may fear that their appearance here, for the most part in the first volume and near its beginning, and therefore just where the reader will first look, may prejudice many against the whole, and cause them to throw down the volume in disgust. This seems a weighty consideration, and has not been overlooked. Auguste Comte, when late in life he decided to republish his early papers as an appendix to the fourth volume of his *Politique Positive*, selected six of these for the purpose and virtually repudiated the rest as premature, although he

admits that one of the brightest things he ever said[1] is to be found in one of them, which he fortunately reproduces.[2] Only a few know what other gems these juvenile productions may contain, for most of them were anonymous, and some were, with Comte's own approval, published over the signature of Saint Simon, whose disciple he then acknowledged himself to be, and therefore it will probably never be possible to distinguish them. It was a question, then, whether I should follow his example, or whether I should adhere strictly to the principle above announced of including everything that possessed the two qualities of having been written by me and of having been printed.[3] In deciding upon the latter course I

[1] "Tout est relatif; voilà le seul principe absolu."

[2] *Politique Positive*, Tome IV, Appendice, p. ii.

[3] The only possible exception to this rule would be a case in which both the printed article and the manuscript are lost. One such case has occurred. In 1868 a man by the name of Philip H. Reinhard, then a clerk in the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department, but who had previously been connected with the Washington *Chronicle*, started a paper which he called the *Department Journal*, devoted to the general interests of the Government clerks, and he came round soliciting contributions. In my diary for Sept. 28, 1868, I say: "In the evening I sketched an article about the classes for the *Department Journal*, which I got to-day." On Sept. 30 I wrote: "Reinhard came round and I paid him for the *Department Journal* and told him I was going to send him that article. He told me to do so, and I rewrote it and sent it." On Oct. 3, I say: "The *Department Journal* came, along with my article entire." So it is certain that I wrote the article and that it was printed, but no copy of the *Journal* was preserved, and the above is absolutely all I know about it, not even remembering the title. I think, however, that I know what it was about. In the classified service a first class clerk received $1200 a year, a second class $1400, a third class, $1600, and a fourth class, $1800. This had been much criticized, and it had been urged that the order ought to be reversed so that the first class should receive the highest, and the fourth,

have assumed that the reader is a reasonable being, that he, after reading this preface, will know what to expect, and that he will make the proper allowance for all the circumstances. I have, moreover, ample reasons for believing, indeed, for knowing, that a considerable proportion of readers would be grievously disappointed, as I myself am disappointed with Comte's method, if even the least of my utterances were wanting in this place.

An essential part of the plan here adopted, in full line with the predominantly biographical character of the work, is to supply to each article a complete historical explanation of the time when, and the circumstances under which, it was written and published. Connecting this with the subject of the preceding paragraph, I may add that this history of each item will of itself contain all the apology needed for its existence. As the whole represents a growth, no reasonable person will expect that the beginnings will possess the same maturity as the productions of my later life; but it is possible, and some have said this of my books, that the natural enthusiasm that characterizes youth at all times, may lend a certain quality of

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the lowest salary. There was a story, which I think I told in the article, about a man who refused a fourth class clerkship, saying that if he could not have first class, he would not take any. The article was on that subject at any rate. If I could have found even the manuscript it would have had to go in, and would have borne date Oct. 3, 1868. It would then have stood between Nos. 5 and 6 of the series, and was published at the age of 27. It would have also added one to the "Numerical Bibliography" (see infra, p. liv).

Other analogous cases are liable to arise.

freshness and verve not present in my later writings.

But I have not been content to write a historical sketch of each article or item, however short or insignificant. In order to make the biographical character of the work as prominent as possible, I have also written historical sketches of all my books and of all other excluded matter, which I introduce into .the exact place where the work would fall in its chronological order. Some of these sketches are .quite extended, much longer than most of those of the lesser publications, on account of their superior importance. That of my first work, *Dynamic Sociology*, is the longest of all the histories, and that of *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* is next in length. *Pure Sociology* and *Applied Sociology* are fully treated, and my large illustrated monographs on fossil plants required me to give a fairly adequate account of my activities in that line. The work therefore covers the entire field of my labors.

Another feature to which I attach much importance is the placing over each article the exact date of its appearance. This fixes the priority of every new idea I have ever expressed. Such ideas have often been written and otherwise expressed considerably earlier, but I am content to conform to the rule of priority in all the sciences as determined by the date of publication, as the only test that can be universally applied. In immediate connection with this date of publication I have, as a matter of further biographical

interest, appended my age at that particular date.

On account of the difficulty in consulting the original sources, I have proposed to render this unnecessary by giving the exact pages of the original in addition to those of the volume of this work, so that the reader may safely quote any journal, magazine, or volume in which anything first appeared.

I have purposely left to the last the discussion of the general title that I have decided to give to the work as a whole. Hints as to the reasons for this have, indeed, been thrown out, but some readers may prefer a fuller statement of them. As the work includes everything, even the driest descriptive papers and catalogues of names, it is evident that no single term or phrase could be found that would embrace the whole, but the number of these original researches, for one who has devoted so much of his life to science, is very small. This may be interpreted to mean that I have contributed little to the actual increase of knowledge (see infra, pp. lxxix, lxxx). I have never had any passion for the multiplication of species. Only when, as has several times happened, I have found myself confronted by a great mass of interesting material, usually collected by myself and wholly new to science, have I felt called upon to investigate it, describe it, and publish it, giving names to forms never before seen by man. But even in such cases it has always been the new knowledge that has chiefly interested

me, and not the number of new species, still less the new names that I was obliged to give to them. Furthermore, this new knowledge, considered as so many new facts resulting from my researches, has not been the principal charm of this work. It is the nature of a great flora of an age past and gone, and the relation of that flora to the present flora of the globe, and of the floras of earlier and later geological ages, that have chiefly interested me, and the student of even these descriptive papers cannot fail to see that I have taken every possible occasion to emphasize this aspect, and to interpret the facts, to point out their meaning, which to me is almost their only value. Even when breaking the rocks to obtain the specimens, this idea of their meaning has always been uppermost in my mind—*mentem et malleum.*

But even if there are exceptions, it may still with truth be said, that there is scarcely a paper of mine, however modest its length, that does not embody a thought. I see all things in their relations, and seek, at least, to put every fact into its appropriate niche in a general scheme of philosophy. I naturally consider everything in its relation to the Cosmos, every fact and every truth presents itself as an integral part of the Whole. Therefore the expression of a thought always means an attempt to gain a new glimpse of some little corner of this infinite Whole. It is not a question here of the extent to which I have succeeded in any particular case, or generally. It is simply that my work has consisted mainly

in an effort to obtain such glimpses. This seems specially true of these minor contributions, and therefore a collection of these may be appropriately named: GLIMPSES OF THE COSMOS.

History of the Present Work

As the plan of this work requires a historical sketch of all my published writings, it would logically include such a sketch of the work itself. The proper place for this sketch seems to be at the beginning, immediately following the preface, of which it may be regarded as a supplementary part. Already in that something has been said of the demand for such a work, and of the idea I have always entertained as to what the plan and nature of it ought to be. The sketch will therefore be practically confined to giving an account of how the plan was carried out, of the method of accomplishing it, of the research required, and of the assistance I have received in executing it.

The last of the above-named considerations is the first to be mentioned, because it was the *sine qua non* of my even undertaking it. I always saw how great a task it would be, and I should never have laid aside other work for so long a period without not merely the spur of outside pressure, but the promise that most of the laborious part of it would be done by another. This does not mean the mechanical work only, but the critical literary work of bringing the materials

into order and making of them a methodical and symmetrical literary structure. The drudgery research work has rather fallen to me, while the higher and more truly editorial part has been voluntarily, cheerfully, ably, and I may add, enthusiastically done by another. It is to Mrs. Emily Palmer Cape of New York that I am indebted for this service.

On Oct. 2, 1905, Mrs. Cape wrote requesting me to send her copies of my article in the *Independent* on *Herbert Spencer's Sociology*, and not long after that she read the *Text-book of Sociology*, and the *Psychic Factors of Civilization*. Of these books she wrote me on Oct. 19, 1908, a very laudatory letter. My views seemed to take a marvelous hold of her. I may say here, once for all, that although comparatively few are attracted by them, those few are mostly very strongly attracted, and some are peculiarly captivated. Mrs. Cape belongs to this last small class, and she did not stop till she had read all my books. About this time I sent her all I still had of my various reprints, but all the earlier ones had long been exhausted. She read all I sent her, and desired to know where others could be found. I referred her to some, but the greater part were practically inaccessible to ordinary readers. Like most readers she was much interested in the author of these writings, and wanted biographical information. I gratified her as far as I could, and even sent her an old biographical sketch that I had long possessed. She soon commenced agitating the question of the

republication in some form of all my scattered papers, and offered to help the matter in any way she could, as she had much leisure. I finally told her that if she would edit the work, I would furnish the material for it, and she gladly accepted the proposition. This is exactly what was done, and the present work is the result.

I was sure that I could furnish the material, for, with a single exception, I had preserved every article of mine that had ever been published, and they had all been collected and pasted into scrap-books as fast as they appeared, making twenty-five volumes of such scrap-books. But besides the one copy thus permanently preserved, I had always tried to keep several additional copies and reprints of my articles, and these latter at least were available as manuscript for the collected essays. How far I could go with this, and how to supply the manuscript for the entire work, remained to be seen.

I early decided to prefix to each article a historical sketch, informing the reader just when and under what circumstances it was written and published, and the first task was, therefore, the collection of the data for these sketches. I could not of course rely upon my memory, and I saw that I should be wholly dependent upon records. But I had records of various kinds, so that when one source failed I could usually fall back upon another. The following are the principal sources from which I must derive my information. The first, and great reservoir, was my diaries. I have kept a diary

since 1860, or from the age of 19, and only one thing that I ever wrote was printed prior to that date. For the greater part of the time I have carried to a special book or place the record of what I regarded as the principal happenings of my life, and since the beginning of my scientific career, I have paid special attention in this respect to my literary productions, justly regarding them as the leading elements in my history. The dates of writing my essays are usually recorded, and also the date of their appearance. In writing my books I always gave the time when chapters and special topics were begun and completed.

Besides my diaries, which were intended to cover all private operations, I have always used scientific note-books, first my botanical note-books, and then, from the beginning of my geological and paleontological researches, my official note-books on those subjects, but these latter, belonging as they do, to the United States Government, I left in Washington when I was called to Brown University in 1906, and they were not at my hand here in Providence. I have occasionally consulted them when in Washington since I began this work.

The next most fertile source for the data required was the extensive scrap-book system. I do not now refer to the twenty-five albums above mentioned which contain the printed documents themselves, but to the three series entitled respectively: "Reviews and Press Notices," "Autograph Letters," and "Biography." The first and third of these consist of seven volumes each,

and the second of nine volumes. A brief account of how the first series was inaugurated by Mrs. Ward is given in my historical sketch of *Dynamic Sociology* (No. 145).[1] The other two series were begun by her soon after she started the first, and all three were kept up every year as long as her health permitted. Since her health broke down I have continued them as nearly along the lines adopted by her as possible. I had previously kept all this material in certain drawers in my study year after year, and occasionally I would greatly need something that I knew I had, and proceed to make a prolonged search for it, often without success. The embodiment of it all in these albums, arranged in exact chronological order for each of the three series, was a measure absolutely indispensable to my work. But not content with this, and in order to be able to command any document with certainty and dispatch, I made a thorough card index of the whole, sparing no pains to cross-index every name, subject, or word on every page. This great card catalogue is now kept in a standard library case along with a number of others relating to my literary work. The series of

[1] All references to books, articles, sketches, etc., will be by the current numbers, and these will be printed in heavy type. The volumes and pages can then be found by consulting the table of contents, which is arranged by these numbers. As the references must be either to the historical sketch or to the article, this fact will usually be stated. If the sketch is long its position will sometimes be indicated, as: "beginning of sketch," "end of sketch," etc. If the reference is to the article and this is a long one, the original page will be given. As this is always placed in the margin ("boxed"), it will be easy to find it.

"Reviews and Press Notices," and that of "Autograph Letters" require no explanation, but a word may be in place here relative to the third series labeled "Biography." It is a sort of "omnium gatherum" of just about everything else pertaining to my personal history. All notices of meetings of societies before which I was to read papers may here be found, along with a vast number of other things—appointments to office, promotions, transfers and changes of every kind; diplomas, certificates, and all papers of that class, etc., etc.—This series also contains many letters which are not preserved for any intrinsic value in themselves, but as records of operations to which they relate. As Mrs. Ward used to express it, they are "things that I have been asked to do and things that I have done." These series of scrapbooks constitute an almost inexhaustible, and quite indispensable source to draw upon in the work in question.

Another very important resort in critical cases has been the letter files. Of course all letters could not be embodied in the autograph letter albums, and the greater number of the less important ones remain in the files, which run back as far as 1888. Official letters, going back still farther, are preserved in files at the U. S. National Museum, and were occasionally consulted. As for most of my official term I dictated all letters to a typist, who always used a carbon sheet and took a second impression, these official files are in two series of "letters received" and "letters sent," so that my

letters, as well as those of others to me, are thus preserved.

It was evident that the first work to be done was to take up my private diaries, read them all systematically and carefully, and extract from them every item of interest in connection with my entire literary career. Under the spur of Mrs. Cape's insistent zeal and enlightened interest I began this work on Oct. 6, 1909. In this work she could render me only moral assistance, and it was many months before she could begin that substantial coöperation which has at last brought our task to a close.

I had always kept a list of the titles of my articles and books, entered immediately upon receipt of the first copy, and therefore in practically chronological order, and a first column of this list recorded the number that it was to bear. In placing the papers in the publication series of scrapbooks, this number was affixed, so that the bibliographic list and the volumes corresponded in the matter of numbers and in the order of succession. This system is still kept up independently of this work, and the last bibliographic number at the time (December, 1912) the present sketch goes to press is 527. But there have been interpolations, and in the course of the present elaboration a number of items have been found that were overlooked, so that the grand total, as represented by the "current numbers," presently to be described, has now reached 561.

Now, my plan was, as I read the diaries, to have

by me slips of paper of uniform size and shape, in the upper left-hand corner of each of which was written the bibliographic number of the article in question, and across the top, its title. Following this, I would record the date of all the entries found in the diaries in any way alluding to it. With the list before me I could always identify the article and write the date on the slip corresponding. In this way, when all through, these slips would tell precisely on what dates every article had ever been mentioned, and as the diaries were read in exact chronological order, these dates would also stand in that order. These slips were called "history slips," and when I got entirely through they contained every item of information about every article that all my diaries give.

The work was slow, but by the end of October I had brought it down to 1875, when my scientific activity began. By the end of 1909 I had advanced to 1894. On Feb. 19, 1910, I brought the work down to that date. The next step was to get the reprints of the articles out of the files in which they had always been kept along with the manuscripts, whenever these existed. This was done from March 6–20, 1910, and the history slips were placed with the articles. Even in that crude form it made a very bulky pile of matter. I was then ready to commence writing the sketches, but this was delayed to decide upon a title for the entire work, draw up the title-page, and write the preface.

I had all along a distinct recollection that I long before had proposed to myself to call such a

work *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, should it ever be undertaken, and I found among my miscellaneous papers a slip on which was written that name followed by the words: "Proposed title for my Collected Essays." It bore no date, but I have some recollection of writing it a good while after I had formulated it in my mind, fearing that I might forget it. A rough estimate would put the date at about 1904. The phrase was probably first framed in my mind in 1901. At any rate it was on March 21, 1910, that I wrote in my diary: "I struck the first blow towards the preparation of manuscript for the republication of my Lesser Published Writings by drawing up the title page and commencing to write the preface. I call the series, as I decided several years ago: *Glimpses of the Cosmos.*" In my Record of Work of that date I say: "Commenced preparing the manuscript of a great work to consist of the republication in chronological order of all my lesser published writings. The title long ago decided upon is: *Glimpses of the Cosmos.* The history of every article is to be given, and the place of original publication."

On March 24, 1910, I finished the preface and commenced writing the sketches. In many cases, especially in the early items, the only copy I possessed was the one pasted in the scrap-book, while in the first one of all I had nothing but a rough draft of the manuscript, and the printed papers are lost. The plan was to reproduce all these missing documents by copying them, either

from the scrap-books or from the volumes or works in which they appeared. Where copies of the printed papers, or reprints, existed, these were to be pasted on sheets of uniform size, so that there should result a manuscript for the printer of a neat and uniform character. I wrote my sketches on paper of the same size, viz., on blocks of ordinary letter paper 10½ × 8 inches in dimensions. This rule was followed throughout. All that I did was to write the sketches, and Mrs. Cape attended to the rest. As she lived in New York, I had to send her her work, and the first instalment was dispatched to her on March 28th. She used a typewriter and made a neat manuscript of all the parts requiring to be copied. She arranged the printed matter skilfully and pasted it on the blank sheets in due order, making, when preceded by my sketches, a very handsome appearance. She brought me to Providence this first instalment of her work on April 23d, and we compared it carefully with original sources. It covered 197 folios. A second package was returned to me by her on June 14th.

I had to spend six weeks in Madison, Wis., in the summer of 1910, giving courses of lectures at the University. As they were the same lectures that I give at Brown University, they required little preparation, and I knew that I should have much leisure time. I therefore decided to take this work along and continue it there. Mrs. Cape wished to hear my lectures, and accompanied me to Madison. We arranged to coöperate in this

work there, and she rented a typewriter. We secured rooms in the same house so as to facilitate operations, which were carried on with great success from June 26th to August 7th.

On July 18th, I commenced making a thorough card index of the manuscript. One of my greatest desires had always been to be able to command the contents of my own writings. Over and over again I had wished to know when and where I had made some statement or uttered some truth, but scattered as my papers were, I could rarely find the passage. I saw that a complete index of this manuscript would place my entire life-work within my reach, and I cared quite as much for this as for the republication of my essays. I had reached a point where I could not advance with the compilation, and many hundred folios were completed ready to be indexed. This great index was the most laborious of all the tasks undertaken. I made it exhaustive, embracing not merely names and facts, but also ideas; and many ideas that I later used special phrases to express are indexed under such phrases in places where they were expressed in other ways long before I had formulated the appropriate terms. This work hung on long after all else was done, and was not finally completed till November 26, 1911. It contains about 10,000 standard library cards.

The work was all sent back to Providence, and I continued there to write the historical sketches. As fast as they were finished I placed them with the reprints and sent them to Mrs. Cape to put

in final form. Down to August 29th I had not contemplated writing the histories of my books nor of any of the other things omitted under the rule, but it occurred to me that the introduction of such sketches would greatly improve the work, as then it would, to that extent, include all my writings, and constitute a complete biography, so far as my literary contributions are concerned. I had then proceeded with the sketches to my third book, *Outlines of Sociology*, and I decided to write the sketch of that and put it in its chronological place, and thereafter to treat all the excluded matter in the same way. Of course this plan considerably increased the work.

Pure Sociology was reached on Sept. 28th, and *Applied Sociology* on Oct. 11th. The last sketch was written Oct. 28th, but it remained to go back and write those of the omitted ones, antedating my decision to write them. There were only seven of these, viz., *Guide to the Flora of Washington and Vicinity*, 1881; *Dynamic Sociology*, 1883; *Sketch of Paleobotany*, 1886; *Synopsis of the Flora of the Laramie Group*, 1887; *Types of the Laramie Flora*, 1887; *Geographical Distribution of Fossil Plants*, 1890; and *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 1893. The first of these was written Nov. 25th–27th. I began to write the history of *Dynamic Sociology* on Nov. 27th, but I had previously spent many hours in systematically rereading all my diaries covering the 14-year period during which I was writing it, with special reference to that work. I had also carefully read all the rejected

manuscripts written during that period, including the large one on "Education." The sketch was finished on Dec. 8th, and is the longest of the entire series, occupying 115 folios. It is the history of 14 of the most critical years of my life. The history of the *Sketch of Paleobotany*, my first large illustrated memoir published by the U. S. Geological Survey, was written entirely on December 11th; that of the *Synopsis of the Flora of the Laramie Group*, the second of these memoirs similarly published, was begun on the 12th and finished on the 15th; that of the *Types of the Laramie Flora*, containing the descriptions of the species and published as an octavo Bulletin with repetition of the illustrations, was wholly written on the 16th; and that of the *Geographical Distribution of Fossil Plants*, the third large memoir published in the Annual Reports of the Survey, was begun on the last-named date and finished on the 17th.

This work was then temporarily suspended on account of the approach of the Christmas holidays, which were spent in Washington, but there were several pieces of work that could be done during this season better than at any other time. They were mostly in the nature of library work. In writing the sketches there were many occasions on which it was impossible for me to give the complete reference to a book or a fact, and I would leave blank spaces for their insertion when found. On Dec. 10, 1910, I commenced going through the manuscript and taking out all folios

on which incomplete references occurred. Mrs. Cape had a large amount of the matter in New York, and on my way to Washington I stopped there and took her an additional package. While in Washington I made several visits to the Library of Congress and searched for the references, usually with success. On my way back on Jan. 2, 1911, I stopped again in New York and brought to Providence all the work that Mrs. Cape had completed.

After working in all these corrections, I took up on Jan. 5th, the historical sketch of *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*. Next to that of *Dynamic Sociology*, this was the longest, and also the most laborious, of all the sketches. It was finished on Jan. 11th. This completed the omitted ones, and my part of the work in furnishing the manuscript of the *Glimpses of the Cosmos* was done.

I had all along intended, as soon as all the articles were completed, to examine each one critically with a view to determining the exact date of publication. Thus far they had been arranged in practically the same order as that in which they stand on my bibliographic list and in the albums, i. e., according to the numbers given them as fast as received. But there were cases in which I knew that this was not the order of their appearance, and I had changed them. This, however, needed to be done systematically and critically, and on Jan. 12, 1911, I began this work.

The determination of the true date of publication proved very difficult in many cases. For

daily and weekly periodicals it was of course easy, as one must accept the dates they bear whether they were actually issued on those dates or not. They usually are. But for monthly periodicals, the practice varies. Some appear promptly on the first day of the month, the most enterprising ones often a day or two in advance of that. Others, especially the more scientific ones, to which I chiefly contributed, were content to come out any time during the month, and usually toward the end of it. This is still more true of bimonthly and quarterly journals. In such cases it is often difficult to ascertain the exact date at which they appeared. As I always ordered reprints of my articles, these would often be sent me in advance of the number containing them. I have never regarded this as publication. As I could not be a subscriber to all these journals, I must learn in some way just when they did appear, and it was not usually convenient to do this. I would generally neglect the matter entirely and content myself with my reprints, the receipt of which would fix the date at which they would be entered in my bibliography list. There were other much more troublesome cases. The worst of all were the Government publications. The Government Printing Office followed the rule of dating the work at the time that it was cast. But there was always a long delay before such volumes actually appeared. This often amounted to an entire year, or even two years. Another complication arose here by the practice of issuing these scientific

publications as executive documents, and as parts of the President's "Message and Documents," and sending them immediately to Senators and members of Congress for distribution to their constituents, long before the differently bound documents were supplied to the Bureaus from which they emanated. It has been impossible to learn the date of issue of the executive documents, and I have been obliged to take as the date of these volumes that at which they were received by the Geological Survey, National Museum, etc. In some such cases, therefore, the date here given may be considerably later than the earliest issue.

These dates, as nearly exact as I could determine them, I wrote over the top of each article, essay, or item in the entire series, and arranged the whole precisely in this order, whatever inconsistencies of other kinds it might involve, some of which required explanation.

Another feature that I introduced at the same time was to have these dates of the appearance of the articles followed by a number indicating my age at that date. In biographies, and especially autobiographies, it is customary to place the age of the subject over the pages, following the Latin abbreviation "*Ætat.*" This might be done in this case, but it seems better to let it stand over each item, as indicating at precisely what age that particular piece of work was completed and saw the light. In all the sketches I have stated exactly when each was written, and thus the history is made complete.

For all the work done at Madison, amounting to some 400 folios, Mrs. Cape had written the page numbers with the typewriter, but now that we were separated, and I must resume indexing, I was obliged to do this numbering myself, and I did it with a soft lead pencil (A. W. Faber, "Castell," 4B). Of course this could only be done as fast as Mrs. Cape had completed her work of preparing the manuscript, but on Jan. 16, 1911, I was able to send her a large package which when completed carried the work to folio 3800. The work of dating the sketches was begun on Jan. 12th. On the 22d I had dated all that were still in my hands. It carried it to the year 1900. I first saw that these were arranged in exact order of dates, and then I resumed the work of indexing the manuscript, on which nothing had been done since we left Madison in August, 1910. It had then been brought down to the history of *Dynamic Sociology*, and about my first work was to index that sketch. I made some additions to it on February 2, increasing its length by some dozen folios. I then resumed indexing, and I record that folio 1544 was reached on Feb. 7th. On the 11th Mrs. Cape came to Providence, bringing with her a large package of manuscript which she had completed. We compared her copies with the originals in the usual way. On the 15th I sent her another large package, containing the last of the matter, and she proceeded to edit it in the same way as the rest. I lost some time in late February and early March through illness, but did all I could on

the index, making some progress. On March 22d I went to Washington for the Easter recess, taking with me considerable more library work of the same class as before, and was very successful in completing references and supplying deficiencies. I returned on the 28th. My health being restored, I resumed the index work. On the 30th I made quite extensive additions to my sketch of *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, which I was then ready to commence indexing.

I did not number all the folios at once for fear something might happen to disturb the order, which was now so essential. By a rough count I had divided the entire manuscript up into four packages or piles of approximately 1000 folios, each, it appearing to contain about 4000 folios. I would number one thousand-page package and index that, then number another, and so on. The sketch of the *Psychic Factors* begins on page 1734, and that of the *Outlines of Sociology* on page 3317. On April 1st I had numbered the folios to the last-named sketch. I stopped at this point to inaugurate a very important inquiry and to settle a question that had been greatly interesting Mrs. Cape and myself almost from the beginning. It was nothing less than the question of how big a thing these *Glimpses of the Cosmos* were going to be when finished.

The manuscript is so heterogeneous in its character that it furnishes no basis for estimating the amount of matter in it. When we say that it consists of about 4000 folios this conveys no

adequate idea. The folios are of many different kinds, varying greatly in the number of words on each. My sketches are written in a large hand with a coarse pen (see infra, No. 523, early part of sketch), and do not contain much more than 200 words to the page. The typewritten matter, which is considerable, probably contains 500 or 600 words to the page. The rest is mostly printed matter, but the size of page, the type, and the leading are so different that it is hard to strike any sort of average. After revolving the subject fully over in our minds we decided that the only safe basis for an estimate would be an actual count of words. The labor involved in this was appalling to contemplate, but Mrs. Cape volunteered to do it, and it was decided to solve the problem definitively and with absolute certainty by that method. In order to facilitate so great a work I devised a register in which to record the results. There were several other objects that I desired to accomplish, which such a register could be made to secure at the same time. In the first place, there had been so many changes in the position of the articles, rendered necessary in order to arrange them in the strict chronological order of their appearance, that the old bibliography numbers no longer marked their position, and it was desirable to renumber them all in the final order in which they now stood. The first column of this register was therefore to give their new "current numbers." The second column was devoted to the old bibliography numbers, which were still very convenient. A

third and wider column was introduced to contain the intralimital manuscript folio numbers of each article. A fourth column, which has proved very useful, gives the volume and page of the scrap-book or album in which the retained reprints of the articles were placed as fast as they were received, and which were our main dependence for the originals. It was in the fifth column of this register, thus devised, that the result of the count of words of each article was to be recorded. A sixth column was left in which to indicate the volume of the completed work when all matters relating to form, size, and make-up, should be decided. I prepared this register in a blank book adapted to the purpose, and for my part of the work I undertook to fill in the matter of the first four columns, or all except the column for the word count, which Mrs. Cape had offered to do. Of my part I did all I had data for on April 2 and 3, 1911. It included 3316 folios. On the 15th Mrs. Cape brought the last of her work and we compared it with the originals as before. After her return I arranged the last part in the same way as I had done the rest, and dated all the articles to the end. Then I finished putting on the page numbers, which was completed on the 19th. This showed, for the first time, exactly how many folios there were. At that date the last number was 3925. This did not include any of the preliminary pages, which would bring it up near the 4000 mark, and as other articles of mine are appearing, it bids fair considerably to exceed that

figure. I then proceeded to enter everything in the new register, and finished that the same day. The last current number at that date was 557, which correctly represented the state of my bibliography.

I was then ready to resume work on the index and I pushed that forward all the spring. On May 11th I sent the first thousand folios to Mrs. Cape, accompanied by the register book, to begin the count of words. She was then living in her country home, "Willowmere," on the Sound at Stamford, Conn. I had been invited to deliver a course of lectures during the Summer Session of Columbia University, and she desired to hear them. It was therefore arranged that I be her guest at Willowmere for the six weeks and accompany her in and out of the city each day. There would be considerable time for work, and it was decided that all the manuscript be taken there. A suitable room was provided for me to spread out my boxes and index cards, which had become cumbrous and required much space, and where I could continue my work of indexing while she did her counting.

As I had to go to Washington and spend a week with my family before the lectures began on July 6th, I was obliged to remove the bulky materials to Stamford some time in advance. This was, in fact, done on June 7th, and I remained there till the 12th, and got my work well started. It was resumed in earnest on July 3d, and continued actively until Aug. 11th, when I was obliged to

stop and prepare for my trip to Europe, which took two months. At that date I had indexed 3137 folios. Mrs. Cape had nearly finished counting the words, and completed her work during my absence. When through, she shipped the manuscript and the boxes of index cards to Providence, and I found them here on my return, Oct. 17th. The register, showing exactly how many words every article contained, was with them, and Mrs. Cape had footed up the columns. The grand total was 1,195,839 words! The articles published since that date already raise it to the twelve hundred thousand mark, and that has been the basis of all our calculations. We had preferred to have the work appear in small convenient volumes of about 75,000 words, or 300 pages, each, and on Oct. 27th, when Mrs. Cape visited Providence, we figured first on this basis. But it was at length decided that the sixteen volumes, which it would thus require, would constitute a serious objection to publication. We finally compromised on twelve volumes of 100,000 words each, and after she returned I proceeded to divide the manuscript on this basis. It was impossible to make the volumes exactly equal, because certain conditions would outweigh that of mere size. For example, each volume must of course begin with some article, and there were certain very extended ones that would persist in falling at points where they would swell the volume unduly. I worked it down with the greatest care, and arrived at the best subdivision

that is practicable under the circumstances. The sketch of *Dynamic Sociology* falls in the third volume; most of the volumes begin with a rather prominent article, and *Sociology at the Paris Exposition of 1900*, the most extended of all my lesser writings, containing 118,390 words, forms a volume (X) by itself. Considerable part of that can be printed in finer type than the general text.

The idea of publication had never been the dominant one in my mind when contemplating this work, but rather that of getting the entire output of my life-work into a form where I (or any one else) could readily command it. I had always been reconciled to the possibility that it might never be published. But I felt that in this form, with a full index of the manuscript, it would be worth all the labor bestowed upon it.

The folios were written without much margin, and therefore, in order to make it convenient to handle these volumes of manuscript, a special form of holder was required. No spring-back holder would suffice. It must be possible to take down a volume and open it out, so as to look through the folios for any required reference. I had seen such a file holder in New York, but I found one on the same principle here in Providence. It is called the "What Cheer"[1] File, E. L. Freeman

[1] The phrase "what cheer" is very common in Rhode Island, as the words said to have been used by the Indian chief when he, from his boat crossing the Seekonk, hailed Roger Williams and his party on the bank of the river at the State Rock, now at the foot of Williams Street, Providence. See the inscriptions on the monument erected on this spot.

Company, 3 Westminster Street, where I obtained them. They consist of a pasteboard box, one side and the front edge of which have the form of a flap, so that when laid on the other side these may be opened and the contents handled at will. I purchased twelve of these files and placed the volumes in them. Properly labeled on the back and stood on the shelf they present a handsome appearance, and are almost as easily handled as bound volumes.

The work of completing the index was simply a matter of time, patience, and labor. Vol. X was finished on Oct. 30th, Vol. XI on Nov. 14th, and Vol. XII on Nov. 26th. It was begun, as stated, at Madison on July 18, 1910, and had therefore been the work of one year, four months, and eight days! Many of the cards were imperfect. Although, in mentioning persons in the text, initials and front names are often omitted for various reasons, and properly so, I have, in the indexes of all my books, endeavored to supply these, so that the indexes of my books contain information not furnished by the text. This I have also done for the present work, but there were many other kinds of imperfections, and from the last-named date to Jan. 25, 1912, I was chiefly engaged in perfecting the index. I first went through and took out all the imperfect cards, amounting to several hundred. Then I investigated all cases that could be found in my study, and which I had neglected to complete while making the index, on account of the great inconvenience it would have been to get up each

time, my lap-board covered with boxes, and hunt up each case as it arose. This settled nearly half of the cases, and was completed on Dec. 8th. A large number of others were found in the John Hay Library in the week that followed, and I was in New York on the 17th and 18th, and searched for them in the great library there. Soon after this I spent ten days in Washington and paid four visits to the Library of Congress, which left only a few still to be looked up. Some were found at the U. S. National Museum, Department of Agriculture, and Bureau of Education. I considered the index done at the end of the year 1911, but when in Boston on Jan. 8, 1912, I went to the Public Library there and settled several knotty points. I have since found still other cases in my own study, but a few will always remain unsettled.

The matter of paging reprints had not been carefully attended to, and on Jan. 4, 1912, I commenced going systematically through the entire manuscript with this end in view. The order adopted has all along been: First the *title*, second the *sketch*, or "history," as it is always called, and third, the *reference* to the place of publication. This means in all cases the original or principal source. If there has been a reprint, and this has been separately paged, the rule is to write the reprint page numbers in brackets [ ]. If the pages are uniform, all page numbers stand over the top, but if the reprint pages begin and end at different places from the original, the numbers of the

former are placed in the margin opposite the line on which the pages begin. If this is at some point in that line, this point is indicated by a vertical mark at that point, which may fall between two words or between two syllables of a word. If an article is reprinted practically entire in another journal, the page numbers of the latter are treated the same as those of other reprints. In some periodicals there are two sets of page numbers, usually one for the volume, and another for the particular number in which the article occurs. In such cases the numbers are treated as reprints. There are many irregular cases, but always it is the original or chief publication that is recognized as the true one, and all others are treated as reprints. This sometimes happens when the secondary publication appeared earlier than the primary one, and in such cases the date placed over the article is that of the primary one. These rules were followed throughout the entire manuscript.

I always revised the sketches after writing them, but now I felt that it would be well to give them all a second revision some time after they were written, and it seemed a good time to do this in connection with this critical work on the paging. This I did, beginning at the date last mentioned (Jan. 4, 1912), and I carried both kinds of work along together, thus putting the entire manuscript into a complete and final condition ready for the press. This revision of the sketches occupied more time than the work on the paging, but on Jan. 20th, I had completed both.

By this time, after corresponding with Mrs. Cape on the subject, it had been decided to write the present sketch of the preparation of the entire work, and I commenced getting the data for it together on the 21st, and the writing of it occupied me from the 22d to the 25th.

It was then that I decided to prefix to each title its new and final "current number" (see supra, p. xli,), so that by no possibility could any article be misplaced. These were already recorded in the first column of the register (see supra, p. xli), and I had only to follow that strictly. As that also showed the exact folio of the manuscript on which each article begins, there was no danger of going wrong. To distinguish these current numbers from all others (page numbers, old bibliography numbers, etc.) still standing on the manuscript, often only temporarily as guides, and which are usually written in pencil or else typewritten, I used red ink, and always placed them immediately before the first word of the title. This work was done on Jan. 26 and 27, 1912.

My next task was to prepare the table of contents, and upon mature reflection I concluded to introduce a simple list of all the articles and works in their chronological order as they stand in the work. I also thought best to let the current number stand before each item, followed by the title, and this by the volume and page, but of course for the manuscript I could use only the folio pages written in pencil, to be superseded by the final pages when

they appear. This work was begun on Jan. 28th and finished on Feb. 4th. It is obvious that this table of contents must ultimately be divided into twelve parts for the twelve volumes.

The idea of attempting some classification of the work by subjects has already been broached (see supra, pp. xi, xii, xiii), and I had fully made up my mind to introduce a classified table of contents, but I did not see the necessity of repeating the titles. Indeed, it would involve much repetition, as many articles must be classed under several heads. The numerical system adopted made it possible to classify them by numbers, under which the titles are easily found in the detailed list. I commenced this work on the date last mentioned (Feb. 4, 1912). I found it a very delicate matter requiring much thought and systematic attention. It was necessary first to decide on the names of the subjects, and then carefully and thoughtfully to consider every title in the entire work, and assign it to its proper subject or science. I therefore took index cards and used a card for each subject, putting down the numbers in their order on the cards. The work had to be gone over several times and carefully verified and revised. The cards were done on the 7th, and I then wrote the introduction to the "Numerically Classified Contents." The incorporation of the matter of the cards into the manuscript was a mechanical operation, and was finished on the 8th. This table will precede the index at the end of the work.

In indexing the manuscript of the entire work

I had not included the preliminary matter. In fact all except the preface had been written since the index was completed. But there was no good reason why this part should not also be indexed, and on the last-mentioned date I began this work. The laborious part was, of course, the Contents, as all the titles, which had been indexed in the body of the work, had to be entered again here, and the Roman page numerals must be made to precede the Arabic ones on the cards. The indexing was carried to the end of the Contents on Feb. 10th, and was completed on the 11th.

In two of my books I had introduced the feature which I call "embellishment." These are *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (see No. **349,** sketch), and *Applied Sociology* (see No. **532,** sketch). Although difficult of accomplishment and little appreciated by readers, I lay great store by this feature, as I greatly admire it when I see it in the works of others. These glimpses of truth dropped along the wayside of time impress me as nothing else can with the continuity of human thought and the universal striving of mind after unity.

I did not at first propose to make this feature very prominent in the present work, but I thought that at least one motto might be found for each of the twelve volumes, that should reflect some of the ideas most prominent in that volume. Each volume represents a certain period, longer or shorter, of my life, and falls between some two of the years of it, as indicated by the age-record over each article. During each of these periods

my mind was engrossed in one or more of the leading ideas brought out by the articles. I thought perhaps there might be difference enough between these periods and the predominant ideas to enable one to find an expression for each of them. Whatever success has been met with in this quest is shown by the mottos and quotations selected. In this work, as in almost everything else connected with the great task, I have had the intelligent assistance of Mrs. Cape, an accomplished student of Browning, Emerson, and other philosopher poets, as well as of Vedantic literature. To her I am indebted for the selection of several of the most appropriate literary ornaments of this class.

This work was commenced on Feb. 11, 1912, and I soon got together a considerable number of appropriate mottos. Mrs. Cape came to Providence on the 18th, and we went carefully through the materials. She copied most of my notes as guides in her own researches, and took them with her when she returned. I continued my own, visiting various libraries, and adding much to what I had found. I embodied the results in a rough draft, copying the quotations on temporary title-pages in pencil. On the 26th I sent all my matter on the subject to Mrs. Cape, asking her to revise it and add what she could. She did so, doing much work in the great New York Library, and on March 6th she returned my notes with all her additions.

In view of the interest and value of these aphorisms, and the quantity of material in hand, I decided to change the original plan and introduce

many more quotations than I had expected to do, including some of considerable length. It was proposed to place at the head of the volumes, on fly-leaves following the title-pages, general expressions for the leading ideas brought out in the works treated in each volume, and to let the aphorisms that in any way related to these ideas follow such expressions. The reader will sometimes be troubled to see the connection, and it needs to be explained that many of my ideas are wholly new, and therefore it cannot be expected that any direct expression of them can be found. I have always been aware of this, but I have searched faithfully for, and carefully recorded all the approaches to them that I could find. What I have generally found has been what may be properly called *adumbrations* of my ideas, and it is these, rather than true expressions of them, that the aphorisms furnish.

On March 7th I commenced embodying the results of Mrs. Cape's investigations and my own into the manuscript proper, making title-pages for the volumes, on which some of the shorter and more epigrammatic phrases are usually placed, and letting these be followed by fly-leaves containing the main thoughts with the appropriate quotations. This work was not finished until March 11th.

As a part of the general plan of embellishment, I decided to introduce portraits at as many different ages as there existed materials for, and I made a thorough search for such materials. This work

was all done in the early part of March, 1912. For the frontispiece to the entire work I use the picture I had of the house in which I was born, in front of which I am standing. This picture was taken by a local photographer on Sept. 11, 1893. It is the double house, Nos. 512 and 514 Joliet Street, standing on the southeast corner of Joliet and Benton Streets, Joliet, Illinois. The room in which I was born near midnight of June 18, 1841, is on the first floor in the northwest corner of house No. 514. The house was built as a single house by my father and my next oldest brother, Justin Loomis Ward. The latter accompanied me to the place and showed me the house some weeks before (see infra, p. lxix), but I was on my way to the Black Hills, and could not have the photograph taken till my return. I hold in my hand a roll of maps that I had been using.

The next work done was to prepare the "Numerical Bibliography." To that I have prefixed a full description of the method and process adopted, so that all that needs to be said of a historical character is to give the dates on which it was executed. It was a comparatively short piece of work. I compiled all the data on the cards on Feb. 14 and 15, 1912, and transcribed the whole in manuscript form on the 16th and 17th. It was a long task to index it, as I had mostly neglected to index the references, and comparisons had to be made with the manuscript in most cases. It was begun on March 3d and finished on the 9th. This bibliography like the "Numerically Classified

Contents," and for similar reasons, is placed at the end of the work.

The last work done was to write the "Personal Remark," which immediately follows this sketch. It was not exactly an afterthought, as I had thought much about it, but there had been serious doubts as to what it was best to include in it, and the question as to its proper place had also given some trouble, so that it was not fully decided whether to write it or not till long after everything else had been written. A short paper with that title was written in March, 1912, but upon reflection it was considered unsatisfactory, and rejected. For a long time it was thought best not to introduce this feature, but many weighty reasons urged me not only to introduce it, but to expand it much beyond the limits originally contemplated.

There were four subjects of a personal character that seemed to demand treatment in order to satisfy a desire that I knew to exist on the part of those who would read this work. These were, 1st, a brief account of the principal honors, or marks of approval and recognition, that I have received; 2d, a statement of my genealogy, as far as it has been traced; 3d, a brief sketch of my early life, anterior to the appearance of any of my more important contributions, and therefore not covered by the histories of such contributions; and 4th and most important of all, a summary of the leading doctrines, or philosophical principles, that I have either originated or so emphasized as to render them in a proper sense my own.

I commenced this work on July 4, 1912, and finished it on the 30th of that month, but I recast it a number of times during this period before it was in an entirely satisfactory form. Its proper place seems to be here at the end of the present sketch.

Personal Remark

THERE are two reasons for making this personal remark. One is my desire to gratify those who, after reading my books, naturally wish to know something of the author; and the other is to say certain things that cannot be said elsewhere. As to the first of these purposes, I am sure I shall disappoint many, because I cannot introduce here an autobiographical sketch, except of the briefest character. I have never felt that my biography, aside from my writings, was worth publishing. To me, of course, the events of my life are of very vital interest, but that is true of the life of everybody. In my own case, I certainly could not hope that the public would share that interest.

There exist already a considerable number of brief sketches of my life, most of which are substantially correct. The publishers of biographical dictionaries have importuned me for years to furnish such sketches, but I have made it a rule to pay no attention to them, and compel them to seek the information for themselves. They are all glad to have the subjects of the sketches write them for them, and thus save them the trouble and expense of doing so. But this method renders

their works worse than useless. It robs them of all perspective, and even of reliability. The sketches are measured by the vanity of the writers, which is inversely proportional to their true merits. Such works are among the many effective means of bringing mediocre people into undue prominence and enabling charlatans to attain success.

There was, however, one somewhat notable exception to this. The sketch that was submitted to me for my criticism, besides being much fuller than others, was already written and showed that the enterprise had really investigated my history and learned most of the facts worth stating. There was very little to change, and I approved it and authorized its publication. This sketch occurs in "The Cyclopedia of American Biographies," published by the Federal Book Company of Boston, Vol. VII, p. 490. Boston, 1903. It contains a few typographical errors, but is a fair account of my life and work down to that date (1903).

Another important sketch authorized by me was the one written by Mr. Wade Mountfortt and published in *The Multitude* for July, 1902, but of that I give a full account in the history of *Dynamic Sociology* (No. **145**, near the end), and in fact reproduce the sketch entire with the portrait.

The only other sketch worthy of mention was that written by Mr. H. L. Koopman, Librarian of Brown University, on the occasion of my call there in the spring of 1906. It appeared as the leading article of the *Brown Alumni Monthly* for April,

1906 (Vol. VI, No. 9, pp. 181–183). The portrait that accompanies it is from an electrotype which I furnished, made from a photograph taken in 1903. This sketch briefly refers to the three most important events of my life subsequent to the ones last mentioned, viz., first, my call to Brown University, second, the appearance of *Applied Sociology*, and third, my presidency of the newly organized American Sociological Society.

The last of these events, or facts, in my history might be included among the honors I have received, none of them very great, but all of them unsought and unexpected, and most of them true surprises. Among other such surprises of a major importance, I may mention my invitation to attend the Herbert Spencer Dinner (see No. **137**), 1882; the conferring upon me of the degree of Doctor of Laws on June 7, 1897; and my election to the presidency of the Institut International de Sociologie on Sept. 27, 1900, for the year 1903, when I actually did preside over the Fifth Congress, held in the Sorbonne in Paris (see Nos. **476** [end of sketch], **502**, **505**).

I propose now, however, to speak of a few other surprises of minor rank, but which have been even more gratifying to me than the larger ones, because they have emanated from humble sources, and indicate a true and genuine appreciation on the part of those concerned in them. They have proceeded either from my students, who have heard my lectures, or from readers of my writings, who have been specially interested in my views

of life. Relative to the former class I may mention the fact that on each of the three occasions when I delivered my two courses of lectures, one on Pure, the other on Applied Sociology, I received such an attention from the students. At the University of Chicago in 1897, I was presented with a gold-headed cane. At the University of West Virginia in 1898, a beautiful testimonial was read and handed to me, signed by about all the students in my classes. At Stanford University in 1899, I was the recipient from the students of a handsome valise, appropriate to the traveler that I was in that land.

These were special lectures addressed to such mature-minded students as come to universities for the summer courses, and I did not consider that I was doing anything but unfold my system to persons on my own plane of thinking. I did not call it teaching. I was called to Brown University in the spring of 1906, and the chair of Professor of Sociology was created at that time, which I have held ever since. I began my professorial work, the first I had ever done, with many misgivings as to my competency to teach without previous experience. It had been stipulated, as a condition to my coming, that I should have advanced classes only. I set in in the fall of 1906, and carried the four courses through the year. I seemed to give entire satisfaction, and I certainly did so to the students, many of whom were graduates and teachers themselves. As a proof of this, and a complete surprise to me, at the close of the last

examination, I was presented in a neat speech by one of the brightest of my students, but on behalf of them all, who had kept it perfectly quiet, with a handsome "loving cup." The affair was written up by another student, who was connected with the press, and the account was printed in *The Evening Tribune* of Providence for June 12, 1907. Somehow they got hold of the picture used by Mr. Koopman (see supra, p. lix), and it appears in the same column.

That picture was destined to do duty in quite another way soon after, though it cannot exactly be called publication. Mr. Philip M. Minassian, of Philadelphia, has long been doing a noble work in lecturing to working men on sociology. He is teaching them science and real history, from such authors as Lewis H. Morgan and Edward B. Tylor. He was also using my works regularly as the groundwork of his sociology, and he had written to me on the subject. He had heard of the chart I am using, which contains a "survey of all knowledge in the order of nature" (see No. **373,** at end of sketch). I had sent him a copy of it, which he had had enlarged to hang in his lecture room. He asked me for a picture of myself, saying he wished to enlarge it and hang it by the side of that of Karl Marx! I had nothing at the time but some prints which I had made in 1903, and I sent him one of them, well knowing that they could not be reproduced. But I was ready to send him the electrotype. He never asked me for it, and I heard nothing from it for a good while. At last

I received a large box containing the picture enlarged to 13 × 16 inches for the picture alone, in a handsome gilt frame 22 × 26 inches. It was a New Year's gift for 1910. He subsequently explained that his brother was a photographer and had done it for him from the print I furnished. When Professors Wilson and Dealey of the Department of Social and Political Science, under which sociology falls, saw the picture, they insisted that I should allow it to be hung in the main hall of that department. I consented on condition that theirs should hang with it, and there it hangs, though thus far it is only in the company of Darwin, Francis A. Walker, and Wilhelm Wundt. Mr. Minassian said he had a duplicate of it hanging in his lecture hall.

A similar honor has been done me by Columbia University. While I was giving the course of lectures there of the Summer Session in July, 1911, Professor Giddings told me that Columbia would be glad of a portrait of me to hang in the Sociology Room of Kent Hall, where there are many others whom we now call sociologists, among them, as I remember, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. I told him he could have the large one I received from Mr. Minassian. It happened that Mrs. Cape was present when this conversation took place, and later she told Professor Giddings that she would like to supply that portrait herself, to which, of course, Professor Giddings consented.

When I was in Oxford in 1909 at the dedication of the Central Labour College, Mr. Dennis Hird

took me to a photographer and we both sat for our pictures. A number of views were taken, some in which he and I appeared together, and others in which we appeared alone. One of the former forms the frontispiece to my address delivered on that occasion, printed in the *"Plebs" Magazine* for November and December, 1909, and subsequently issued as a reprint with the title: *Education and Progress* (see No. 551). The single photographs of both Mr. Hird and myself were highly artistic and extra large. I obtained several, and sent one of myself to Mrs. Cape. Without my knowledge, she sent to Oxford for a duplicate, which she took to an artist photographer in New York, and had it enlarged in sepia. This she presented to Columbia University. Most of the portraits in the Sociological Room in Kent Hall are signed by the subjects of them in their own handwriting, and I have also appended my signature to mine.

I received a special invitation, emanating, of course, from Professor Haeckel, to attend the great Congress of Monists in Hamburg in September, 1911, which I accepted and was present (see No. 558). Owing to his fractured limb from a fall in April, Professor Haeckel was unable to be present, but at the close of the meeting a large delegation, which I gladly joined, visited Jena and did him all the honor in their power. The great torchlight procession that marched past his villa on Sept. 12th, and listened to a few words from him standing on the balcony, will not soon be forgotten by those

who participated in it, but on the next morning a comparatively small delegation waited on him privately to pay their respects. I was invited to be one of that company, and in fact, apparently for no good reason, was made the first to speak to him, although I had no set address; but the few words that passed between us were agreeable in the extreme (see No. 560). A photographer was brought in at a certain stage of the interview, and the delegation was photographed as a group. I did not obtain one of the views, but some of the American delegates did so, and brought it back with them. It was reproduced in the *Truth Seeker* of New York for November 18, 1911, page 729, where I first saw it. The faces are mostly clear. I sat well in the foreground at one side. Professor Haeckel himself was unfortunately too far in the rear. In the sketch of my Sunrise Club after-dinner speech of Jan. 29, 1912, in which I described this visit to Haeckel, and which was published in the *Truth Seeker* (see No. 560), I tell how my picture was isolated from that group, enlarged, and reproduced.

The students of Brown University, and especially the twenty Greek letter fraternities represented by them, have been annually publishing a volume pertaining to their special interests. It is called the *Liber Brunensis*, and each volume is dedicated to some person who is in one way or another a sort of favorite of the students. Usually it is one of the older members of the Faculty. Besides the dedication, the portrait of this person forms the

frontispiece of the volume. The class of 1912 chose me as the recipient of this honor. It was in vain that I protested, alleging that I was a comparatively new-comer to Brown; I must submit. Mr. F. C. Perry, who had been in my classes for two years, was the editor, and he informed me of the decision of the class of 1912, and asked me for a photograph to be used for the frontispiece. I was somewhat troubled to supply one. I wished it to be something new and unique. I did not want the one that hangs in Maxcy Hall, and which had been reproduced so many times. I preferred not to use the Oxford one, which had so recently been hung in the Sociology Room of Kent Hall, at Columbia. The old one of 1886, though excellent, was out of date. At last I discovered that I had one of the views taken in 1903, at the same time as that which had been so often used, and which had not been preferred at the time. But it was an excellent picture, much less in profile, and some had even expressed a preference for it. I gave it to Mr. Perry, and it appears here for the first time, but beautifully toned and softened by modern processes. I also gave Mr. Perry one of my *facsimile* cards that I wrote many years ago, and for which I had a plate made. It was used to perfection, and my signature, written indeed by me, but after a hundred trials, stands in all simplicity under the picture. This simple and spontaneous expression of affection on the part of my students was in the highest degree gratifying to me. The dedication is as follows:

To | Professor Lester Frank Ward, LL.D. | whose ability and attainments rank him with the | great men of our day, and whose personal | interest in and kindness to his | pupils will ever keep him | dear to their memory | This 54th volume of the Liber Brunensis is most | affectionately dedicated.

The type of the dedication is "black letter" and "German text."

None of the above-mentioned sketches go very far back in my history, beyond stating the date and place of my birth. There may be some who would care to know more of my very early life, and even of my genealogy, so far as it has been traced. I never took any interest in genealogy. My mind has always been trimmed toward the future rather than the past. Firmly convinced for most of my life that the human race has been ascending, and not descending, I have cared little for my ancestors, except in a biological sense. But I have always had a horror of degeneracy, the proof of which, in certain individuals, families, and even communities, is manifest. Pride of ancestry is a mark of degeneracy. One of Robert G. Ingersoll's bright epigrams was that those who are most proud of their ancestors usually have nothing but ancestors to be proud of. When asked if my lack of interest in genealogy was due to the fear that my ancestors might prove to be low, I always answered that it was rather from the fear that they might prove to be eminent, and I degenerate. A recent book giving the genealogy

of the Ward family[1] has dispelled both these apprehensions. My remote ancestor, Andrew Ward, was neither obscure, nor was he very eminent. He played a somewhat important rôle in the colonial history of Connecticut. He was a prominent magistrate and influential citizen, and held a number of public offices. In June, 1907, a monument was erected to his memory in a cemetery at Fairfield, Conn., where he lived longest, and where he died. I have been to see this monument.

This Andrew Ward was the son of Andrew Ward of Gorleston, Suffolk Co., England, who in turn was the son of Sir Richard Ward, of Homersfield, in the same county. The record therefore goes back two generations farther. My own genealogy is directly traced all the way, and is as follows:

Andrew Ward of Fairfield.....	born	1597
Andrew Ward, Jr.....	"	1647
Peter Ward.....	"	1676
Ira Ward.....	"	1704
James Ward (my great grandfather)	"	1729
James Ward (my grandfather).....	"	1764
Justus Ward (my father).....	"	1788

These were all father and son in direct line, making seven generations in about three hundred years. The maternal ancestors are also given. Prof. Henry A. Ward of Rochester was one of the descendants of Andrew Ward. Long before this book appeared he and I had discussed our probable

[1] The Genealogy of the Descendants of Andrew Ward of Fairfield, Conn. By the Rev. George Kemp Ward, New York, 1910. Second Edition, 1911.

relationship. Among several prominent persons coming in on collateral lines may be mentioned John Burroughs. I had been told when a boy that my father came to Western New York from New Hampshire, but I never heard that his ancestors were settled in Connecticut.

On my mother's side I know of no such record. Her name was Rolph, and I never heard of a Rolph genealogy. But her mother was a Loomis, and belonged to the great Loomis family that has produced so many eminent men. The Loomis genealogy has long been extant. The only one whom we claimed as a relative was Justin Loomis, so long president of Lewisburg College, Pennsylvania, and author of a series of text-books, one of which, his *Physiology*, I studied. We called him uncle. There was a vague idea in the family that some of my mother's distant relatives were men of eminence, the one most commonly mentioned being Edward Everett. My grandfather Rolph, who, I believe, was a clergyman, was said to have translated Homer's *Iliad*, but, if so, it was probably never published. At least, I know of no translation by Rolph.

My father was a mechanic, especially a millwright and wheelwright, but generally inventive, and a "jack-at-all-trades." He was also musical and played the fife. He was fife-major in the army during the War of 1812, and served in the battle of Buffalo, for which service, before the homestead days, he obtained a land warrant for 160 acres of land in Iowa. The whole Ward

family early settled in Western New York, and there is a nest of Wards there still. But my father moved to Illinois after the birth of most of the children. My next older brother Erastus, and I, the tenth and last, were the only ones born in that State. My father sought a mill-site in Northeastern Illinois, first on the Dupage River, and later on the Des Plaines River. The Illinois and Michigan Canal, now the great Drainage Canal, was being cut through to connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi, and he secured the contract to build many of the locks. He settled in Joliet, where there were fine beds of freestone, bought a quarry, and built the locks. My next oldest brother, Loomis, assisted him in this work. It was there that I was born. On Aug. 31, 1893, I visited Joliet in company with my brother Loomis (see supra, p. liv), and he showed me the house in which I was born (see frontispiece), and also the locks that they built. He pointed out the spot where the stone was quarried, but the State Penitentiary now stands over my father's quarry! For all the time that I lived in Illinois the State Prison was at Alton. But it has now been so long in Joliet that people sometimes smile when I tell them I was born there. As the family moved away from Joliet one year after I was born, I tell them that I *escaped* at an early age.

The Des Plaines (or Aux Plaines, as it was locally called) flowed over a long swamp or low, wet region of country, called the "Sag," for many miles in its course. This occurred mostly in what

is now called Downer's Grove, then known as Cass. It lies some distance above Lockport and Lamont, and extended to within fifteen miles of Chicago. It was impossible to build a towpath along this region, and my father and older brothers obtained the contract to build a long towpath-bridge, called the "Sag Bridge," raised on timbers above the swamp. It had to be ten miles long. To do this work it was necessary to erect a saw-mill near the spot. A brisk-flowing stream came into the river from the north with sufficient fall to make an overshot wheel possible, which will drive a saw with the minimum of water. The site was located, the mill built, and the work begun. We moved to a place on this stream a mile above the mill, and my father bought a farm there and built a house. The stream had never been named, and it was thenceforth known as Ward's Creek. It was at this place, in this new-built house, on this stream and farm, that I first came to consciousness, and here are stamped on my memory all the scenes of my earliest boyhood. Here we lived till I was nine years old, here I first went to school in the schoolhouse a mile north of the Cass farm. My recollection of every detail, and of the precise topography of the whole region over which I so freely roamed, is exceedingly vivid. From the date of our next removal, viz., in 1852, this time to St. Charles on the Fox River in Kane County, to the day above mentioned, Aug. 31, 1893, I had never returned to that spot, and I was anxious to do so. Before we went to Joliet, my

brother Loomis and I, on that day (see supra, p. liv), revisited the whole region. Getting out of a way train at the station nearest the mouth of Ward's Creek, we followed it up to the mill-site, of which only the faintest traces remained, and on up to the farm and the house.. But all was changed. The brook was dry and the whole region was transformed. Forty years had made their ravages, and nothing was left but the house and the ground around it. I will not dwell on such a theme, but I was glad to have once more seen even the spot, if not the scenes, of my childhood.

St. Charles was only headquarters in the next act of the drama, a place for my brother, Erastus, and me to go to school, a place to live in the winter, and for my parents to have social and religious society. The objective point was another mill-stream two miles north of the village, in fact, a mill already built, Norton's Mill on Norton's Creek, which my father had purchased along with a large tract of land, and where for three years more I was destined to struggle with nature. I had to work, both in the village and at the mill, but I had much leisure time for play and for roving where I pleased. Here, on the pretty Fox River, I learned to skate, and in its clear waters in summer, to swim. Here my brother Erastus and I abandoned our bows and arrows, our cross-guns, and our bow-guns, and bought with nuts we gathered, a shotgun, which we owned in common, and "took turns" in shooting! Our interest was transferred from insects to birds and mammals. Finally

we got each of us a gun, and how we did pursue the small game of the place! For there was no large game there then. We did also much fishing. It was there that occurred the event recorded in *Pure Sociology* on page 182. I enlarge upon it in the sketch of that work (No. 487), in dealing with the burlesque article in the New York *Sun*, where it is characterized as a "fish-story." In all this I always had the companionship of my next older brother, Erastus, who, though three and a half years older than I, seemed the same age. I was already larger than he, and I well remember when I first threw him in a wrestle, and ever after that I could easily "handle" him. But we were exceedingly congenial, and very fond of each other —a true Damon and Phintias. Our minds were also about equivalent, though very unlike, he running to mathematics, and I to languages, but we were both fond of nature, and spent most of our time in the woods and fields. We attended school in St. Charles in winter, and got the elements of an education.

This lasted about three years, when in 1855 my father sold the Norton's Mill property, and we moved to Iowa. We traveled there in a small covered wagon, not a large "prairie schooner." My father and mother slept in the wagon and my brother and I on the ground. We thus traveled through the State of Illinois to Galena, crossed the Mississippi to Dubuque, took a northwest course to the Maquoketa Creek, through Dubuque and Delaware Counties, and settled in the northeast

corner of Buchanan County, where my father preëmpted a quarter-section of land, which was subsequently deeded to him on his land warrant for service in the War of 1812. The journey was made in May and June, 1855, and was one of the most memorable, as well as most enjoyable events of my early life. My brother and I had our guns; there were many water-fowls and other birds, some rabbits and squirrels, and we occasionally got a duck. We lived on our game all the way. My mother prepared it and we fairly feasted. It was the greatest opportunity I had ever had to see the world, and no passion was stronger in my nature than that of adventure. I never have been entirely free from that passion.

Two summers and two winters were spent in the new home. They were years of work, of course, but, as I look back upon them, it seems as though most of my time was spent in roaming over those boundless prairies, always with a gun, killing the game both for sport and for the table, and admiring nature. I believe I was born a naturalist, but the opportunity to be scientific was meager—no teacher, no books (see *Applied Sociology*, p. 276).

In January, 1857, my father died. My mother did not wish to live longer in Iowa, and my oldest brother, Lorenzo, who lived near us, was made administrator of the estate, and took charge of it. My mother, my brother Erastus, and I returned to Illinois. There was then a railroad most of the way, and we went by rail. The little homestead in St. Charles still remained in my mother's

name, but she preferred to live with her only daughter in Geneva, two miles below on the Fox. We arrived in the spring of 1857, and my brother and I found work to do, but could not be together. He worked in a machine shop, and I on the farm of a man named Rufus Smith near Lodi, ten miles west of St. Charles. In the fall we resolved to go to school in St. Charles, a sort of grammar school having recently been introduced, in which we could study algebra, geometry, grammar, and some other branches that we had not been able to pursue before for want of a teacher. I also studied French. My employer, Rufus Smith, had lived in Canada and spoke Canadian French. I found a little book and studied it evenings on the farm, and he offered to teach me the pronunciation, but I found I had it all to unlearn later.

My brother and I "kept bachelor's hall" all that winter in the little house in St. Charles, and we studied hard, for we were both ambitious to "get an education." But we found time to read stories, and became intensely interested particularly in the story of Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, entitled: "The Hidden Hand," which ran through the New York *Ledger* that winter. We also read a good deal of the "yellow covered" literature, including some blood-curdling tales of crime and murder. One of them, I remember, was entitled: "The Banditti of the Prairies." We had nothing else to read, and we did not know any better than to read such things. After reading them, for me to sit down and write a story was

scarcely more than reflex action. I do not think Erastus wrote any, but I wrote several, I do not know how many. I have in an envelope labeled "Stories," filed with my "unpublished manuscripts," five of these, all apparently complete, but not one of them bears a title! I never have read them since, and probably never shall. This is exclusive of "The Spaniard's Revenge," which chanced to get printed, and therefore could not logically be excluded from this work (see No. 1).

In the spring of 1858, my brother Cyrenus Osborn, nine years my senior, having set up a wagon-hub factory at Myersburg near Wysox, five miles from Towanda, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, and needing help to conduct it, Erastus and I, at his urgent request, and with "great expectations" as to pecuniary results, left our native State once more, and went to join our fortunes with his. I was engineer, but did every other kind of work. I had *Ollendorff's Greek Grammar*, and went through it while about my work. I could then conjugate all the irregular Greek verbs! It was then, too, over the arch, that I studied Loomis's *Physiology* and several other text-books. I was also all this time studying French, German, and Latin.

But the business proved a failure. We had to take our pay in wagon-hubs which we could not sell, and in the winter of 1860–61 I left my brother and taught a school. In the spring of 1861 I entered the Susquehanna Collegiate Institute at Towanda. There I had my first surprise, for,

autodidact as I was, I did not suppose that the knowledge I had picked up in that way would count for anything in an institution of learning. But I found that in Greek and Latin, at least, I had distanced the foremost scholars in the school, and had to be advanced over class after class, to Livy and Herodotus. My *Anabasis* and *Æneid* I took home and read them for the history and the poetry. I could not say as much for mathematics, for mine is not a mathematical mind.

I worked on a farm during the summer of 1861, took the fall term at the Institute, and taught school the winter of 1861–62. I took the spring term of 1862 at the Institute, and was preparing to go to Lafayette College, when a great change came over all my plans. The war had broken out and raged all the spring. I had hoped it might end, but when the President called for "three hundred thousand more," I could resist no longer. I enlisted as a private soldier, and the next twenty-seven months I was in the service of my country. The two letters from the army which my friend and schoolmate had printed in the Bradford *Argus* of Towanda (see Nos. 3, 4), afford a "glimpse" of what that meant.

After the war I entered the civil service of the Government, where I remained for over forty years; but I filled many posts, and the last twenty-four years were devoted to scientific research. I first intended my clerical service for the Government to be merely a stepping-stone to the completion of my academic studies, and I expected

still to go to college as soon as I could gain the wherewithal. But with a wife and child to support, this was a slow process. The difficulty was overcome when, in the spring of 1867, I persuaded Columbian (now George Washington) University, which had long had evening classes in law and medicine in order to accommodate the Government employees, to establish an academic school of the same kind. I entered it from the beginning in March, 1867, with thirty others. I was examined and classed as a sophomore, and the year 1867–68 was my junior year. I pushed through and graduated in 1869. The next two years I took the law course, graduating from that in 1871. After that I studied two more years in a prescribed course for the degree of Master of Arts, which I took in 1872. It included qualitative chemistry (laboratory work) and practical anatomy (dissection).

I was then determined to go into science, and I immediately commenced the study of botany. I also took lessons in taxidermy and learned to make skins. In three years' time I had a respectable herbarium and a collection of some hundred bird skins. My scientific career had begun, and after my Utah campaign of 1875, I commenced contributing to the scientific journals. But all this time, from June 18, 1869, I had also been writing the book which was to be called *Dynamic Sociology*, a full history of which is given in its place (see No. 145). My botanical work is described in the history of my *Guide to the Flora of*

Washington and Vicinity (No. 119), and my geological and paleobotanical labors are set forth in the sketches of the large illustrated memoirs published by the U. S. Geological Survey (see Nos. 208, 223, 224, 263, 405, 421, 463, 471, 519). The histories of my sociological books following the *Dynamic Sociology* are also complete, and sufficiently biographical for all purposes (see Nos. 349, 452, 487, 518, 523).

I will therefore close this biographical sketch here, believing that the reader who is curious to know the details of my life will be fairly well satisfied with what I have here furnished. It is plain and unvarnished, and contains nothing of any very remarkable interest. Details and anecdotes that I could have introduced would have been much more pithy and spicy than the mere historical facts, but this is clearly not the place for such things. I will end this part, as I began it, by repeating that, but for a certain estimate that any reader may make to himself of my contributions to human thought, the life history of the author would be practically jejune.

The second and only other remark which I wished to make under this head relates to my ideas and my work in general. What have I done? What have I contributed to either the knowledge or the thought of the world? Is all this array of titles and of books to be classed merely as *multa non multum*, or does it contain something that the world wants and needs? Of all this

everyone must judge for himself, but I thought it would be appropriate, at the threshold of such a work as this, to indicate what I claim to have accomplished. There is no way of preventing this from sounding egotistical, but how else can it ever be said? No one else is going to say it for me.

In the preface to *Dynamic Sociology* (pp. vii, viii) five distinct principles are enumerated as belonging especially to that work and not to be found clearly enunciated elsewhere. I need not repeat these here, but reference will be made to them as we proceed. They recur under different names and in modified and expanded forms throughout my later writings. But to them have been added many other principles which are distinct from these, and which have entered my mind at intervals during my life.

These contributions are of many different kinds, and it is difficult to classify or arrange them. The broadest distinction is that between contributions to knowledge and contributions to thought. I make no claim to have greatly increased the sum of human knowledge, in the sense of discovering either facts or laws, although most of my contributions to thought might be classed under the second of these heads. I shall not emphasize my contributions to knowledge in any other sense. The discovery of facts is so easy, and forms the bulk of the contributions of most men, even scientific men, that I have never considered my own work in that line of sufficient consequence to be mentioned. And yet, to those, and there are such,

who consider this the most important form of human achievement, I may say that a large part of my life has been devoted to it. The nine large illustrated memoirs on fossil plants, as well as numerous minor contributions to both paleobotany and botany, contain little else than a series of discoveries of facts, both botanical and geological, made during more than thirty years of constant activity in those fields (see supra, p. lxxviii). Of these I do not propose to speak now at all. It is only of ideas that I wish to speak, and these are of very different kinds. They might be classed under principles, on the one hand, and truths on the other, but principles are truths, and the proper opposite of a principle is a law. Truth is rather the generic term for both. My contributions are of both these kinds, and there are some that can scarcely be classed as either principles or laws, and yet they must be classed as truths. I have frequently set forth these distinctions, and need not do it here. I shall not attempt an exhaustive enumeration of my practically new ideas. I will give here, for the most part under the latest name decided upon, and with the minimum explanation, a list or series of these ideas. But I will say again what I have said elsewhere, that the ideas themselves are for the most part much older in my mind than these names, and that many of them were fully set forth long before I decided upon any single word or phrase by which they could be conveniently designated. Nor is the order in which these ideas here stand either logical or chronological in any sense of these

words. The main object is to set them down where they may be seen together. Any attempt to classify them, for the reasons above stated, would be futile. And yet perhaps the reader may see some vague suggestion of order, or at least of propriety, in the sequence here adopted. I certainly do, though it would be difficult to define. But the numbers given to them must not be regarded as having any value. If any reader should be interested in following up any one of them, he will find references in the index to all the places where it has been treated, even before the name had been thought of. The growth of the idea in my mind may thus be traced.

1. Synergy; the constructive principle of nature.
2. Creation in general, including recompounding.
3. Creative synthesis. Wundt's idea expanded by me.
4. The *nisus* of nature or universal creative energy.
5. The continuity of nature resulting in the ascending series of synthetic creations.
6. The natural storage of energy.
7. Sympodial development.
8. The nature of motility, or transition from molecular to molar activity.
9. The maintenance of a difference of potential.
10. Fortuitous variation.
11. The natural origin of mind, both of feeling and of intellect.
12. Telesis, or anthropoteleology.

13. Innovation as a dynamic principle.
14. Conation, especially in society.
15. The biological imperative.
16. Gynæcocracy, or the priority and superiority of the female sex throughout nature.
17. The group sentiment of safety, or primordial social plasm.
18. The elimination of the wayward, as the essential function of religion.

This list, of course, could be greatly extended. Many of these laws, principles, and truths are very broad and embrace subordinate ones that might be treated independently. Some are closely related to others and run together, for such is the nature of all truth. But as they stand here they constitute the essential elements of a great cosmic philosophy, which is as nearly new as anything can be in the domain of human thought.

Now what constantly strikes me is that ever and anon some modern writer comes forward with the claim to the discovery of an entirely new truth. In every such case that I have thus far met with, if it really is a truth, it is one, or some small part of one, that I have not only stated earlier but, at least in most cases, have fully set forth, carefully analyzed, and connected with other related truths, as an integral part of my system of philosophy. Such cases are not generally plagiarisms, but result from complete lack of acquaintance, on the part of those who bring them forward, with me and my works. They may often emanate primarily

from me (see No. **331**, end of sketch), as my ideas are slowly making their way in the world and getting "in the air," and as the world becomes ripe for them they are seized upon by bright minds, who imagine they have an original thought. Much of it, however, is due to the *Zeitgeist* itself, which is at last tardily overtaking me.

I could, if I wished to give space to it, support these statements by numerous examples. I can mention only a few. Most of the cases are more or less obscure. New books are constantly coming out having some one of these truths for their central thought, and when not certainly pure plagiarisms (see No. **444**, end of sketch), they are to be explained in the manner here indicated. Articles in the magazines and scientific journals contain glints of my principles by writers who suppose they are saying something very original and brilliant. I shall not stop to enumerate or characterize such. But sometimes an author of high standing and great eminence comes forward with a work that focuses the attention of the thinking world, in which, along with much, of course, that is new and original, and often with considerable that is questionable or positively untrue, these ideas upon which I have been ringing the changes for thirty years, are served up as something wholly new to the world. I will refer to only one such work here, because it is the most signal example within my knowledge. I allude to the *Creative Evolution* of Henri Bergson. I do not say that Bergson himself makes any such

claims to originality, though he often points out how his ideas differ from those of others, but his disciples and admirers make these claims for him, and hold him up as a great new shining light in the world of thought, who is revolutionizing all the extant ideas and creating an epoch. The most of this can be explained by the fact that, though an acknowledged scholar, and even man of science, he reacts against the modern scientific tendencies, and there is always a large conservative contingent who are highly pleased with anything that imposes an effective check upon the march of science and truth. But there are many truly eminent scientific men who really believe that Bergson has a message.

Now, I have carefully read the *Evolution Créatrice* in the original, and dwelt long and well upon its main points, struggling hard with its obscurities and alleged profundities, and in all due deference to public opinion generally, as well as to the views of many who ought to be capable judges, I confess that I am unable to share that extravagant praise that is so freely lavished upon this work. This is not the place to pass it in review, but if I were to characterize it in the briefest possible terms, I should say that it was an attempt to prolong the metaphysical stage of the celebrated *trois états* of his great countryman, Auguste Comte, whom he does not once mention, far into the positive stage, or era of science. That this attempt has been successful I most emphatically deny. Of course it was easy to overthrow the theological doctrine

(*finalisme*), which is already a thing of the past with all awakened minds, but his attacks upon the scientific method (*mécanisme*) are weak and flimsy, while that nameless intermediate doctrine which he always pretends to call in, and which can be none other than the metaphysical mode of reasoning, slips away and vanishes every time he attempts to apply it.

It concerns us here only to note the alleged new principles brought forward in the book. Let us begin with *creation*, which is the pivot upon which his entire system turns. It is said that he has given an entirely new character to evolution by showing that it is creative. I should like to know if I have not been holding this idea up throughout my whole career. I have not only shown *that* evolution is creative, but *how* it is creative. Bergson scarcely gets beyond his title. I have examined every passage in which he refers in any way to the creative principle, and there is not one in which he analyzes the concept creation, or shows, as I have so often done, in what creation essentially consists. He scarcely mentions the significant fact of chemical recompounding with its bearing on creation. He fails to deal with chemical organization, and least of all does he show, as I have done, why the higher compounds possess more active properties than the lower ones, by virtue of that organization, in which the energy stored up in the lower stages is transferred undiminished to the higher ones. He seems to know nothing of *creative synthesis*, and to be wholly

unacquainted with Wundt. But I am the only one who has attempted to show what an all-embracing cosmical principle creative synthesis is.

There are a few passages in which Bergson gains a faint glimpse of the principle of *synergy*, but the idea is not clearly grasped. The same is true of the *natural storage of energy*, of *biotic organization*, and of the *spiritual nature of matter*.

Next to his "creative evolution," the doctrine which Bergson's admirers lay most stress on is that which he calls the "*élan vital*." That this embodies a truth and a great truth I fully agree, against the views of most biologists, including Sir E. Ray Lankester. But it is nothing new. It is the "neo-vitalism" of a modern school of biologists (not of Reinke or Driesch), but, not to speak of Fechner, it was clearly set forth and ably defended in the last century by the eminent botanist Nägeli. This, however, is only from the biological point of view, but it is a cosmical principle, and is in full operation in all departments of nature. In fact it is nothing less than the manifestation in the organic world of the *nisus* of nature, the universal energy, making for higher stages of being. This is no metaphysical, still less theological, conception, but is an observed fact in every department of nature. It is the broadest of all principles. While I have set it forth in my earliest writings, the most condensed form in which I have ever stated it is in the opening paragraph of Chapter VIII (p. 136) of *Pure Sociology*.

Bergson gives out some vague intimations that the intellect may have had a natural origin, but they are faint and feeble, and are finally swamped in his intuitionalism, which is pure metaphysics. His "intuition" has nothing to do with my "omitted factor," and there is no analysis of psychic phenomena, either objective or subjective. Contrast this with Part II of *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*. That he has no grasp of scientific principles may be seen by his utopian speculations as to the possibility of life in the sun and fixed stars, and this with a full knowledge of the temperatures of those bodies. To hold up such a work as a scientific treatise is to return to pre-Copernican science.

In the latter part of his book Bergson shows his colors completely, and comes forth a pure metaphysician. But he thinks he has made a great discovery that distinguishes him from all other metaphysicians. Instead of regarding the conception of *time* as derived from that of space, and that of space from that of matter and motion, as it is becoming quite fashionable to do, he makes time (*duration*) the basis of everything, and plants his entire system upon that idea. He reifies duration and derives from it all that exists—form, life, mind. But our notion of the external world is kaleidoscopic, and the universe is to us nothing but a series of moving pictures (kinematographs)!

Before closing he pays his respects to Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, and Spencer. I will say nothing

of his treatment of the first three, but Spencer, whose ideas, as the reader can see, have chiefly inspired his work, though of course as objects of attack, he disposes of in a very few pages. Spencer is not a philosopher at all, and all because, instead of making a universe out of whole cloth, as a true philosopher must do, he took the one he found and did the best he could with it. If Bergson had known me and deigned to mention me, I should have shared the same fate, and so of all who deal with realities. He has no patience with the concrete or the real, and recognizes only the abstract and ideal. In fact there is no place in his scheme for observation, and the only faculty called out by it is imagination.

Bergson will have to stand as a type of many, though all would differ in some essential respects. But, as already remarked, various authors and writers are constantly coming forward with my views as their own, and as wholly new. For example, nothing is more common now, even among psychologists, than to emphasize the importance of *feeling* as a psychic phenomenon, often defending the supposed strange view that feeling belongs to mind, and always maintaining that it has not only been neglected, but that no one before has ever treated it! I omit names, because I do not wish to be drawn into controversy. But no one ever shows that mind consists of two generically distinct things, feeling and thought, or explains the distinction between intensive and indifferent sensation, which underlies this classification, and

without a clear idea of which the essential nature of mind cannot be understood.

In Germany there is now a flood of new books, especially along monistic lines. The writers are all ignorant of my works, although my *Pure Sociology* has been translated into German. The air of Germany is filled with these advanced ideas, and when anyone becomes saturated with them he sits down and writes a book. Some of these are able works, and set forth these ideas from the various standpoints of their authors, causing them to be seen from different angles of vision, which is very useful and greatly to be desired. But claims to originality, except from these new viewpoints, are uniformly unfounded, and the principles themselves are not new. The greater part of them are to be found in my works, dating back ten, twenty, or even thirty years.

Glimpses of the Cosmos

March (?), 1858—Ætat. 16.

1. The Spaniard's Revenge

History.—This is the only one of several stories written by me in the winter of 1857–8 and spring of 1858 that had the honor of getting printed. It is the only one that I offered to the press, and I remember my surprise at its acceptance (without compensation) by the editor of the *St. Charles* (Illinois) *Argus*. I had been reading stories, and to sit down and write them was little more than an imitative impulse of a schoolboy. I think this was the last one I wrote, and I then thought it was the best. I do not think the idea of publishing any of them had occurred to me until after I had written this. Before offering it I rewrote it entirely, enlarged it considerably, and, as I thought, greatly improved it. It appeared in two consecutive numbers of the *St. Charles Argus*, probably in March or April, 1858, over the signature "L. F. Ward." I left St. Charles in May, I think, of the same spring and went to Pennsylvania to live with my brother. I remember that I took with

me both numbers of the paper, but I had no place to keep things, and had not yet acquired the habit of preserving anything, and they were lost. Within the last twenty years, having preserved a copy of everything else that I ever wrote and published, I have made strenuous efforts to obtain the numbers of the *St. Charles Argus* containing the story, but without success. In 1895 I offered a reward ($25) for them, and paid my brother, then living in St. Charles, to make a thorough search, which he did, but without result.

As this story comes under the general rule of having been written by me and printed, my only excuse for omitting it would be that no copy of it could be found. But I possess the original draft, which, as stated, was copied, enlarged, altered considerably, and no doubt much improved. This draft, however, seems to be complete, and may not be so greatly inferior to the final one. If that, or the printed copy, had been preserved it would seem sufficiently immature and worthless, so that I conclude to let this go in for the historical value that it has of inaugurating my literary career.

The Saint Charles Argus, St. Charles, Ill., March (?), 1858.

ON the green banks of the Republican Fork of the Kansas River were encamped a small party of hunters and trappers. They were all busily engaged preparing their supper, which was to consist of duck soup, bread, and prairie hen's eggs, and in skinning and dressing what game they had been lucky enough to procure during the day.

The sun had just sunk in the west, and all around seemed animated and lively, and as the coarse notes of the rustic trappers echoed against the groves and were driven back across the prairies, they even seemed to have a peculiar harmony, as they mingled themselves with the clear and variable chirps of the blue-bird, and the sharp continued tones of the thrush, after all the rest of the feathered tribe had hushed their music, and all the noisy waterfowls were still.

Their meal was nearly prepared, when a sudden neighing of their horses announced to them that something new was in the wind. "What you suppose that is?" asked Sam Greggs deliberately.

"Oh! it 's some tarnal varmint o' some kind over the hill thar, sposen we goes over there," said Joe Lyons.

"Well," said Sam, catching his rifle, "come, boys, let's two or three of us jist pop our heads over the knoll and see what 's up, maybe it 's a deer or an elk over thar."

"You 're the ones to go then," said Jack Lyman, "for I guess you 're all that 's scared."

"What de ye mean? You don't s'pose we 're scart do you?" said Joe.

"Come on Joe, you know that Jack don't know nothing," said Sam, starting off for the top of the hill, but he had gone but a few steps before he saw through the fast approaching darkness, something upon the knoll making a dead line for the camp. He stopped a moment to let him get nearer, and soon ascertained that it was a man on horse-back. He was mounted on a deep bay horse, which he rode directly into the camp, and addressing Jack Lyman in broken English, he said: "Please sir, will you give me something to eat to-night, for I have been three days without food except what I could dig from the ground."

"Oh! yes," said Jack, "I guess we can accommodate you somehow, go and picket your horse then come back to the camp, we was jest goin' to set down to eat our supper."

The new-comer was a large athletic fellow, well-propor-

tioned, and over six feet high, he carried a rifle of immense dimensions, a brace of revolvers, and a bowie-knife, and from his sallow and greasy features, and black shining and curly hair, he was immediately taken by the trappers for a half breed of Mexico. When he returned to the camp he was greeted by a shower of questions concerning his singular journeying, where he had come from, and where he was going, to which he gave indifferent answers, and they took their seats by the fire.

He seemed much fatigued and extremely hungry, and it was impossible to draw anything of a conversation from him that night. They went to rest at an early hour, and a close watch was kept of the new-comer, but it was altogether a useless, though not imprudent, proceeding on the part of the wary trappers, for he slept soundly all night, and when he awoke in the morning his breakfast was nearly prepared.

On awaking he apologized for his deep sleep by saying that he was very tired from traveling the day before, and rubbing his eyes he jumped from his robe and went out to look to his horse, which he found had been newly picketed, and taken care of, and returned to the camp. By this time breakfast was ready and the group gathered around the fire to partake of it. The stranger felt much refreshed from his night's rest, and seemed to be more conversant than he had been the night before. The trappers informed him that they were calculating to remain there all that day in consequence of the surplus of game thereabouts, and requested him to remain with them, for they were desirous of drawing something from their guest pertaining to his apparently romantic life. He said he would stay for the sake of resting himself, one day more.

During the day he traveled about with the men seeing to their traps and hunting, and the exquisite dexterity with which he used his gun and pistols, soon convinced our trappers that he was something more than a simple Greaser or Guerilla, and induced them more strongly to try to draw from him his true history.

That night when they were all gathered around the fire, after partaking sumptuously of the fat butter-ducks and fried pike, with which their supper abounded, they began to chat very cleverly, when Joe Lyons spoke up quickly: "Sam go and git that 'are jug, we want something kind o' good to-night."

"Yes, for pity's sakes do, why did n't we think of that last night, when this feller was about dead?" said a number more almost in unison. The jug was brought and each one took their dip. The guest feigned to be ignorant of the fluid, and when it was passed to him he declined, saying he did not wish to drink anything until he knew what it was.

Although he acted with great aptness and cunning, yet the old experienced eyes of Sam Greggs saw through it all at once, and taking two of the party clandestinely away from the camp, out among the horses, he said: "Now boys, if ever we find that 'are feller out we 'll find him to be a perfect knave, boys mark this, that feller has traveled somewhere besides on this prairie, and mind too, I tell you if we can draw him out, his story 'll be some interesting, if not more, and the only way for us to do that is to stuff him till we get him jolly."

They returned to the camp and Sam declared he must have another drink of that pure old "Oporto," and taking the jug he began to swig it in a regular downright style, then dropping it upon his knee he remarked: "Well I do declare if that don't make me twinge fairly! Here, pass it around again." By the time it had gone to the silent guest, Sam had made so many remarks about it, that he could contain himself no longer, and grasping the jug, he commenced pouring it down his throat. He drank profusely, and talked rapidly, and in a short time he was in good spirits. His conversation ran in a scattered manner, and he seemed to like to tell his own story. At length Sam expressed a desire to have him begin at the beginning of his story, and tell it all, to which proposition all the rest of the boys

quickly acquiesced. He excused himself by saying that he had done something in his life which he could never tell.

"Well," said Joe, "tell what you had just as lives as not, then." "Yes, give us a yarn o' some kind," said two or three of the ready-to-be-attentive rustics, in almost the same breath.

"I will tell you one of the little incidents that happened to me when I was in Spain," said he quickly and eagerly, and then dropping his eyes intently upon the dying embers of the camp-fire, he appeared to be deeply meditating.

"Oh! we 're all ears," said Sam, "go ahead."

"I was born in Tabasco," said he, "at the mouth of the river of the same name. My father was a sea captain for ten years, and afterwards he purchased a small brig of his own, and before I was eight years old, I had been with him to Spain, and at the age of twelve, I again visited the old world where I remained until I was fifteen. My usual residence at this time was in the city of Madrid. Here for two years I spent my time in loitering around the city, and carousing among the boys with whom the city was thronged. My father furnished me with plenty of money, and I thought I enjoyed myself extremely well. Then I took to the sea, and for three years I sailed around in company with my father, when we returned home where I spent a quiet year of rest. I was nineteen years old when I again returned to Madrid. Nearly all my old companions were gone and I felt quite alone. Soon, however, I found friends in a family named Palibo. They were very wealthy and the very cream of Madrid. Among the four children of this wealthy citizen, was a lovely girl about the age of seventeen, young, blooming, and happy, with whom I made the time pass rapidly for several months. We walked arm-in-arm through the streets, sat side by side in the richly-adorned parlor, and strolled confidentially through the sweet and salubrious gardens and environs of the rich man's palace.

"To this feminine beauty I pledged my heart and fortune, which was accepted with warmest gratitude, and an engage-

ment was made within four months from the time of my arrival in the city. But a crisis was fast approaching, which threw up all of our former resolutions, overturned our course of pursuance, and put a sudden and unexpected stop to that object which was ever uppermost in our minds. Don Palibo had gone away to America but a few weeks after my arrival at this palace. He thought me only a friend of his son's who had introduced me to his circle, but he did not dream of my intimacy with his fair daughter, but when he received intelligence that I was yet there, and that fears were entertained of my making love to her, he immediately returned home. While yet he was carefully watching the progress of our love, and only three days after his arrival, from America, he was taken by a singular surprise. As we were quietly reposing in the open porch, Don Palibo and I, the thought struck me that now was as fortunate a time as any perhaps for the introduction of my all absorbing cause, and borrowing all the *fermeté* I could summon, I explained my true and grateful love for Cindrella, and requested his consent for our immediate union. But, Ah! how little I dreamed that my innocent plea would arouse such an indignant fire in the eyes of Don Palibo! For a moment he sat and said not a word, then arising suddenly to his feet, he exclaimed: 'Ah! you rascal, I 've found you out at last, who would suppose it? The very object of my return; three days I have watched this dastardly proceeding, but now you have explained it all! Three months, yes, more, have I abode you, you treacherous villain, and now you would throw yourself upon me by marrying my only daughter; this day you will leave my palace, and if you ever cross my threshold again, you impertinent vagabond, my sword shall pierce your heart! Be gone, you impudence, from my sight, and mind this, if ever your presence is made known within my walls, your life is a forfeit!'

"I left from that hour, but when I returned 't was to his bitter sorrow. But poor Cindrella! When she received the news of my abrupt departure, it touched her heart with

sympathy. Don Palibo immediately chose a companion for his afflicted daughter from among the genteel of the capital, but it was in vain that he persuaded this unhappy and unsolicited match. Cindrella would hear nothing to such proposals, but declared that she would go sooner to the convent, and spend her days under the black veil, than be united in ties of everlasting bondage to a man she could not endure. 'Go to the nunnery, then, if you like,' said her father. 'Prepare me and I will go immediately,' she answered. And he did prepare her, and she did go to the convent, and assumed the black veil at once. Gentlemen, you may at once settle it in your minds that my dander was up when I heard of this melancholy proceeding. I resolved to free the girl if there was any such thing. I plunged into every vice in the city of Madrid. I gambled, I cheated, I drank, and I caroused about the streets like a madman, until at length, I found myself in company of a reckless set of city rebels. Deeper and deeper did I plunge into these desperate schemers' plans. At present I cannot express in words the horrible crimes which were committed among that band of desperadoes. Two years did I pass in this way which now appear like a blank page in the history of my miserable existence!

"I will skip the gloomy period and pass on to the last and most desperate act of my life of crime. I had so fully gained the confidence of my comrades that they began to look to me for counsel, and nothing could be acted upon without my consent, but yet it was long before I dared to explain my misery

"One day, however, while we were all sitting around a table playing cards, and amusing ourselves over the rich demijohn, we got wonderfully merry, and before I knew what I was doing, I had told my eagerly listening friends, who were by chance more sober than myself, all my sad story, but contrary to my more sober expectations, they highly applauded the notion which I had mentioned of penetrating the convent.

"Now that I had made known my secret thoughts to my friends, and that they had so voluntarily acquiesced in them, I resolved to carry them out to the utmost degree. Preparations were speedily made to bring them into action, and the next Sunday night, six men of whom I was the leader, armed with pistols and bowie-knives and stilettoes, and prepared with keys of all sizes, shapes, and dimensions to fit any lock in our way, carefully unlocked the outside door of the dark and gloomy convent, and quietly passing in closed the great wooden door behind us. We had India rubber upon our feet to prevent noise and a dim lantern led the gloomy way!

"Passing through a long dreary and evacuated hall, we reached a door that led up to the stairs. That was also locked and bolted on the inside, but among the many tools for such purposes, which we had, we contrived to lead our way through four long winding pairs of stairs. As yet we had encountered no individual, but now there was no escaping the dread of passing through two rooms which were occupied by young nuns of the third degree. Fortunately their doors were all unlocked and ajar, and carefully did we tread their carpeted floors, and passing through without awaking any one, we found ourselves in a long dreary hall with doors on either side, within eight or ten feet of each other, along the walls. The door through which we had last passed was painted a lively white, and singularly enough did it and all those upon that side contrast with the black and gloomy walls and doors opposite to them, as the dim and ghastly light of our lantern pointed to us the fearful task which we were obliged to perform.

"My experience among these convents, which was not inconsiderable, guided me along the whole length of the deserted hall, until I reached the most westerly end, and then plying several keys to the door before me, I at length succeeded in opening it. Stealthily did I enter, and casting my eyes around the apartment, I perceived a bed or couch in the most opposite corner, and on that bed lay a single

human form, but the head was so nearly covered up as only to exhibit some brown curls lying loosely back upon the pillow.

"My heart leaped within me as I beheld the fair head of my long lost Cindrella, and prudence alone prevented me from bounding with an exclamation of joy to her bedside; but prudence did prevent it. Carefully did I proceed to her bedside, and with the lantern dimly shining down upon her I uncovered her fair brow, which however, had already begun to wrinkle with toil and hardships, and before she had time to awake, I pressed my last farewell kiss upon it. But 't was my last. She immediately awoke, recognized me, and staring up into my face whispered my name. I told her I had come to rescue her and have her for my bride. She seemed perfectly composed, and when I told her that I had seven men well armed at her door, ready against any assault, she arose immediately and after cautiously getting a few such necessaries as she needed, we left the room to its fate. But with what horror did my heart thrill on reaching the door, at not seeing a single one of my companions! They had fled! I think my mind was never so highly excited as it was then. I glared around into the dark doorways and through the desolate hall, but not a companion had I. My brain was in a perfect state of fermentation. 'Have they indeed left me?' thought I, 'traitors to their most humble servant! Oh! my God! am I left alone in this awful place! God forbid; it is only a dream. No! Oh, no! it is but an awful dream! But alas! 't was too true! What had I left? How could I fly? Where could I go? How could I soothe the poor girl whom I had told that I had friends. Alas! what could I do? I must not give up to despair, and what had I now to make me hope? Thank God! I had prudence. Oh! how invaluable is prudence! I had endeavored to conceal my feelings of horror from Cindrella, but in vain, she had now and then caught a glimpse of my desperate-looking face, and had read it all. But she also was prudent and held her peace. In order

to make her more confident and composed, I whispered: 'Come on, dearest; I know a direct passage to the outside door, and all the intervening doors are open, and when we reach there, there will be no more danger for there are posted my friends.'

"I could see that she read the true meaning of this remark, and taking her by her little white and delicate hand, we passed silently along through the narrow hall, and then through two rooms, before mentioned, without any disturbance. There lay the young nuns fast asleep, and in exactly the same form as when we passed in; there stood the doors a little ajar, as though they had not moved; and there also were the four long and dreary stairs, dark and evacuated. But where were my treacherous comrades? Alas! I knew not! However, I now felt comparatively safe, in case the treacherous villains would not report my strange proceeding, and arrest my escape from the convent. But would they dare to do this? Had their hearts so hardened in their long routine of crime that they could turn traitor to their best friend and leave him in this awful predicament to the mercy of the world? 'T was even so. While I was thus pondering and soliloquizing, we had passed down two of the dark stairways, and were just entering the third, when I fancied I heard a slight noise at the foot, and evidently enough I could see a dim flickering of smothered light. I knew it could be none of my men from the fact that they carried no light; and Oh! the horrid feelings which I underwent, it is impossible to describe! Tighter did I cling to my wretched heroine, and stronger appeared my infuriated grasp upon my deadly weapon! Exasperated by the thought of my treacherous and cowardly companions, infuriated by the fixed determination of revenge upon them, and also Don Palibo, and terrified by the predominant fear of losing all together with my own life, before I could escape from the convent, I moved on fixedly towards the foot of the stairs. My tremulousness had now entirely vanished, and clinging to my love and my weapons, I felt ready to die

in the cause, could I only free the damsel. But how could she be freed unless I was? She could not! Before we reached the foot of the stairs, I had so unconsciously augmented the grasp on her arm, she began to cringe from its effects. Just as we set our feet upon the lower floor, and my eyes commenced searching the chamber for the whereabouts of the mysterious light, which I could yet see flickering about the apartment, two stout ruffians started from behind the door, and one of them grasped Cindrella by the throat. The other made a grab for mine, but he missed, and that second I plunged my stilletto to his heart, and he fell heavily upon the floor, a corpse! But before I could despatch my other foe, six more rebels instantly jumped from a closet door, and rushed upon us. I saw that they were well armed, and felt little hopes of ever getting clear of them, but I fought desperately with my revolvers, hardly noticing whom I fired upon; till, to my horror, I saw Cindrella fall, staggering to the floor before my unguarded revolver, and with a cry of 'Oh! God!' I sprang to her side, regardless of the imminent danger to which I exposed myself, when at that instant I saw to my relief, my only two remaining foes, doubtless taking this for a more pointed attack, jump into the little closet and close the door. I poured the two remaining balls of my revolver at the closing door, which were followed by a heavy fall, and deep groans, and then dropping upon my knees beside my yet dearest love, I cried: 'Oh! Heaven forgive me for I have murdered you, in the name of God will you forgive me, and believe me sincere? My treacherous companions have reported me, and I never expect to leave the convent alive; but once more in the name of God, the Holy Father, I ask, will you forgive me, and think me sincere? And I shall die in peace.' Her brown tresses lay carelessly floating upon the floor in the blood of those whom I had slain, while her life's blood was gushing out of the fatal wound, and with an extraordinary effort, she opened her large blue eyes, and looking steadfastly up into my haggard face, while a sweet lovely

smile played upon her countenance, she gasped: 'O! my dearest Parras, yes, stay no longer here with me, leave me to my fate, but fly from the convent with the happy thought in your memory, that you are forgiven, and that I not only am confident of your sincerity, but that I thank you for so friendly a relief from my embittered bondage, fly, fly!'

"As she said these words, I felt her little hand press upon my arm, as if to push me away, and I saw her soft blue eyes slowly close for the last time. I placed my hand upon her side, but her heart had ceased to beat, her spirit had at last flown to realms of peace, there to dwell forever in all the effulgence of its meek gentleness!

"Quickly and stealthily did I seize my lantern, and walk down the steps to the lower door, which I found locked, but fortunately for me, I had all the false keys, and I was not long in selecting one which would fit this door. I opened it, and found myself in the long dreary hall which led to the outside door. It was empty as before, but the outside door was also locked. I instantly recognized the key with which we had opened it before, and plying it, I passed out, and once more found myself in the open air.

"But Oh! the horrors, of that eventful night will haunt my weary soul until the last hour of my life! and now as much as five years ago, when I cast my thoughts back and see again those eyelids close, shutting out forever from my vision those beautiful blue orbs of heavenly love, I feel a deadly coldness stealing around my frame, and I almost wish to end my existence! But I am wandering from my story which is now short.

"I from that awful night sank back deeper and deeper, until I was in a perfect state of stagnation. I hated everything on this fair earth. What had I now upon earth? For nearly a quarter of a century had I walked among the tombs! All my friends had proved my enemies save one, and now I was left alone in the center! Bitterly did I hate all mankind, and in short I became a most inveterate misanthropist. I will not detail my stay in Spain after the tragedy. May it

be sufficient to say that I prolonged it far enough to see with my own eyes the lurid flames, and hear with my own ears the death groans, which ascended up to heaven from the quiet residence of Don Palibo, and also to see twenty-one desperate and treacherous villains, among whom were seven whose reckless features shall ever be retained in my most bitter reminiscences, lie down and take their turns under the merciless guillotine! And when I had seen this I felt partially satisfied; yea, as near as we may approach upon this vague fading planet of bitterness to satisfaction, it was mine. I next sought the home of my childhood, and my parents. But alas! that too was desolate. The terrible yellow fever had swept off my parents in their turn! And then I was indeed alone! Ah! whither might I fly to escape the torments and merciless world of vanity? Should I once more seek enjoyment among the reckless and villainous gamblers of Tabasco? No! Oh, no! God forbid! I had already seen too much of such company.

"Might I not again seek to win the love of some one of the fairer sex, and thus throw off the dreadful spell, which hung so heavily upon my soul? But the awful thought of the one I had left in the convent, together with the doubly agonizing idea that I was her murderer, quickly repulsed every such theme from my mind, and I felt that for me there was but one way left. And what was that? To abandon for ever the desolate and annoying world of human beings! This was my course and for over seven years have I traversed this broad and unlimited prairie of America. But it fails to give the satisfaction which I have for so many years hoped sometime to enjoy. It fails to blot from my vivid memory those awful and unpardonable crimes which have stained my very soul! And now, gentlemen, I have told my story for the first time to human ears, and may it be the last!"

As he said this he grasped the old stone jug with a trembling hand, and raising it to his now pale and haggard face, he poured an immense quantity down his throat, and then

setting it deliberately back upon the buffalo robe, he drew his revolver from his belt, and placing the muzzle upon his forehead, fired two charges of its contents into his brains, and fell back a ghastly corpse!

March (?), 1862—Ætat. 20.

2. Rapidity of Progress

History.—I contributed this article to the educational column of the *Bradford Argus* of Towanda, Pennsylvania, at the request of my friend and schoolmate, W. H. Thompson, who edited that column. I had taught school two winters in that vicinity, and the views expressed were the result of my experience. The clipping found among my papers when I made a collection of them did not show the date of the paper. It would probably be difficult to obtain now, but it must have been in 1861 or 1862. It was probably in the spring of 1862.

The Bradford Argus, Towanda, Pennsylvania, 1862 (?)

WHEN parents send their children to common school they have pre-eminently in their minds the one idea, viz., that they are to make rapid progress in their studies. They expect it, they feel that they have a right to demand it. To the teacher, and to the teacher alone do they look for the realization of their expectations. If Charles does not make rapid strides in his Arithmetic, or James does not perceptibly improve in Reading, or Johnny is deficient in Spelling, or William, after having studied Grammar for three winters, is found to

know nothing about it, the fault is immediately laid to the teacher and on his head the blame must rest.

It is our purpose to consider briefly some of the causes that prevent children, in many cases, from making the signal progress that their fond parents often hope for, and for which the teacher is generally subjected to a greater or less degree of censure.

That teachers are often blamable and come far short of their duty in many respects, as well as commit many errors in their own judgment, we do not attempt to deny, but that they are obliged to bear much blame that should properly rest with the parents themselves or with the children, is a fact which a little consideration renders so palpable, as to be beyond all doubt.

Want of promptness in attendance is one of the greatest banes of our modern schools. Many farmers have a habit of retaining their children at home over the proper hour every morning, to do chores. They reason that an hour in the morning certainly, cannot make much difference in their progress, and on that plea justify their conduct. Every teacher who has ever had a modicum of experience sees that this does make a great difference not only with each one's individual advancement, but with the welfare and prosperity of the entire school. Strictly speaking, Mr. Grimes, who keeps his son out every morning until ten o'clock, is wronging every scholar in school who classes with him.

He is retarding his own son's improvement, for even if he misses no actual class he is debarred from the privilege of studying his morning lesson, and consequently comes to the recitation bench unprepared, blunders over an imperfect recitation, and returns to his seat knowing little or no more than if he had kept it or stayed at home; and thus every day falling farther and farther behind, finds at the end of the term, that he knows little or no more Arithmetic than he did at its commencement. He is wronging his class-mates, for what is more unpleasant or injurious to a class, than to

have one of their number continually dragging behind? If the teacher makes any attempt to keep him along with the class, he is compelled to spend as much time with him alone as with all the rest of the class, for he can teach them all the same things as quick as he can teach it to one. This robs the class of half their time, which in common country schools, where every boy has a different reader and each school contains six different kinds of Geography and all the Grammars in use, is a matter of no small importance.

But the farmer urges that it is necessary that his son should be retained at home a certain length of time each morning to perform certain necessary duties of the farm. Doubtless these delinquencies in many cases might be remedied by adopting a plan of early rising, but assuming that they could not, is the farmer justifiable in thus sending him late every morning to the injury of himself and the annoyance of the whole school? Would not he be the better reasoner, who should say, that if his son's education was anything, it was worth making an effort and some sacrifice for, and that if he went to school at all he should go thoroughly domestic duties to the contrary notwithstanding?

Irregularity in attendance is another barrier to progress in common schools, equally if not more injurious than that of tardiness. Parents seem to calculate that their children ought to make just as rapid improvement when they take them out now and then a day, or occasionally a forenoon or an afternoon, as if they attended regularly. If any allowance is made it is only for actual time lost. They think that at least their improvement ought to be in proportion to their attendance.

In other words they suppose that the child's proficiency is retarded by keeping out of school, only in proportion to the number of days that he is kept out. "What is one day now and then," they reason, "to a boy going to school?" They entirely lose sight of the fact that a school is an organization founded upon system, and that by thus keeping their children at home, they are so far virtually disorganiz-

ing its machinery. The prosperity of a school depends upon its classes. Each member of a class is a regulator of its progress. If one member of a class is kept out a day, the class naturally moves on without him, but when he returns he finds his class some distance in advance of him, and then it is that he begins to pull back; and most seriously does the class feel this influence. All the inconveniences cited in the case of tardiness are the consequences, and how obvious it is therefore, that these practices, pursued to any great extent, must so materially affect the prosperity of a school that their evil consequences will be perceptible in the progress of each individual scholar. There are many other evils practised by parents that do not seem to be taken into consideration by them, but which greatly affect the advancement of their children in procuring knowledge, which go in the common category to be heaped upon the teacher, and which every intelligent parent might see, if he would give the subject a tithe of the consideration due to its vast importance, both in relation to him particularly and to the world in general. But this article is assuming some length and we forbear to enlarge further. The point we wish most especially to hold forth, is the utter unreasonableness of placing the whole blame because children do not learn faster, upon the shoulders of the teachers, when in fact, in a majority of cases, three fourths of it lies at the threshold of their own homes. We would not be understood to be attempting to palliate the remissness of negligent or incompetent teachers. As great a reform might perhaps be effected among teachers as among parents, but if those parents who fancy that their children are not learning fast enough, would take the trouble to look over the monthly reports of their several district schools and enumerate the marks of tardiness and absence, placed, by virtual consent, opposite their name, we have the confidence in their good sense, to unhesitatingly predict that they would turn their vituperations of the teachers, into the wholesome resolution on their part, to give henceforth a more earnest patronage

to common schools, both for the good of their own children, and out of respect for their neighbors'.

In short the matter of education is one of importance, and well worthy the attention of all. That your son may become learned or your daughter accomplished, is or should be a great desideratum.

Now, people who take no interest in the intellectual development of the rising generation, certainly have no business to complain; but those who do, if they really wish their children to improve and become men and women worthy of the name, they must send them to school; not nominally merely, but thoroughly; they must send them while they do send them, every day and in season; they must prepare them with books suitable to their capacity and those which are in use; they must train them to respect their teacher and the rules of the school; they must encourage in them at home an interest in their studies; and if, after all this is done, they make no progress, it is time to inculpate their teachers. Let the people awake to the fact that nothing can be accomplished without individual efforts and personal sacrifices.

3. [Letter to Mr. W. H. Thompson]

History.—This letter sufficiently explains itself. There is evidence that it was written at several sittings when long enough in camp to permit of my writing, and that it was mailed on the day of its date. The clipping found showed that it appeared in the *Bradford Argus* of Towanda, Pennsylvania, Vol. XI, No. 26, but did not show the date. It was probably in October or November, 1862.

The Bradford Argus, Towanda, Pennsylvania, Vol. XI., No. 26, 1862

Camp in a Field about a Mile Back from White's Ford, Montgomery Co., Md., October 17, 1862.

Dear Sir: It has been so long since I received your prompt response to my letter, that no apology would be of any use. In fact, I fail utterly to justify myself, much less can I expect to be justified by you. However, repentance coupled with the promise of reform, is sometimes almost equivalent to the non-commission of the sin, and in view of this fact alone, I even now hope to be forgiven.

You are no doubt amply posted on matters concerning the 141st Reg. P. V., at least up to the time of its removal from Camp Prescott Smith, by communications from your worthy "adopted" and others. You are also no doubt informed of his ill health, which is very unfortunate as it prevented him from accompanying the regiment in its recent movements. All the more unfortunate is it that he could not be with us, because in that case the people of our county might have safely relied, as in the case of our first tedious march, upon the gratifying privilege of reading a correct and detailed account of it at each of their firesides from an actual participator. Circumstances being as they are, I will endeavor not to weary you with such an imperfect account as the case will permit.

The boys had been for a long time really in the luxury of camp life, in good weather, and not a few murmurs of dissatisfaction were beginning to be audible among them at the idea of our entire forces lying apparently idle and such a large proportion occupied in apparently useless "fatigue duty," around the fortifications of Washington, while the condition of the roads and the weather, was so favorable to military operations. At length observing individuals began to perceive indications of a change at some no very remote period. The grand review by General Heintzelman, of several brigades, including ours, at Bailey's Cross-Roads, on the 1st of Oct., and an order on Dress Parade the day after, warning all field officers to be ready to take the field and have two days rations prepared for their respective divisions, were quite significant; nor did they fail to be observed and speculated upon by the privates of our regiment. At length the time appeared to have come. Friday evening, October 10th, when we returned from Battalion Drill, the camp was full of vague and flying rumors of a speedy march. Ten thousand silly questions received as many silly answers, and all was doubt and uncertainty. Only one idea seemed at all established, that was that we were soon to bid farewell to Camp Prescott

Smith, probably forever. One supposed we should go to Washington, and take boats for Fortress Monroe, thence to Richmond. Another reckoned we should proceed to Harper's Ferry, and still another heard some one say that he was told that some officer said we were under marching orders for Poolesville, which finally we ascertained to be the fact. Business, bustle, and confusion seemed to be the order of the evening. Men were detailed from the different companies to bring provisions from the Brigade Commissary Store to the Quartermaster's Department of the Regiment, to be distributed among the companies. Orders came for every man to provide himself with two days' rations in his haversack; then another order to pack knapsacks and strike tents. Our tents down fairly, and it began to rain, the first for several weeks. Some complaints went up, and some tents too. Indeed those who repitched their tents were the fortunate ones, for we did not start until about four o'clock on the morning of the 11th, and considerable rain had fallen during the night, which however, proved more an advantage than a barrier, it having nicely laid the dust and moistened the ground. In the morning the weather was lowering, and bid fair to be cool and favorable to marching.

At five o'clock the whole brigade was under motion, headed towards Washington, going few knew whither, but evidently some distance.

The hospitals had attracted a large percentage of our men, and I feel confident in saying that the companies of the 141st would not average over fifty men each, competent to endure the march upon which we had set out, for lugging knapsack, box, and gun, two days' rations and a canteen of water, is in English, carrying about 75 pounds on a man's shoulders. A thousand speculations were of course still afloat as to our destiny; but when we turned up the identical road we had so wearily plodded but little over a month previous, on our memorable Chain Bridge pilgrimage, a miscellaneous murmuring of mingled complaints,

lamentations, and invectives, became immediately audible. "Wonder if the fools are going to take us to Chain Bridge again by this roundabout road," and a thousand kindred expressions, were freely indulged in. All apprehensions of this character, however, were dispelled when we took our course to the right and crossed the Potomac on the Aqueduct Bridge at Georgetown, and passing through the town, took off in a northwesterly course through the region recently christened, "My Maryland." The weather was cool and damp, but the knapsacks would occasionally get heavy, and once in about two hours we were granted the indulgence of a few minutes of rest. But before noon it became evident that the march was "too much" for the men of our regiment at least, of which fact, the frequent applications to the commanders of the companies by weary soldiers for licenses to leave the ranks (fall out), were sufficient proofs. On we plodded. Some of the hardiest would occasionally make the circuit of an orchard for apples, and then work the harder to overtake their companies. Every spring on the roadside gathered a crowd of thirsty soldiers, and some few individuals of the bovine race who had ventured to graze too near the highway, could boast of at least a temporary milkmaid with white fingers. It was about half-after four o'clock when we reached a town called Rockville, a distance of some 17 or 18 miles from Georgetown, and about 22 miles from Camp Prescott Smith. Here we turned out to the left into a large fair ground and spent the night. Meager as were the conveniences, in a few minutes after we had prepared and swallowed our suppers and stretched our weary bodies out upon our blankets for the night, a very large majority of us were safely folded in the arms of Morpheus, and revelling in the comparative luxuries of home and congenial society. But such indulgences are brief and transient to the soldier, and at three o'clock next morning our temporary felicity was substituted for by rather peremptory orders to "fall in and march on as before." We marched rather slowly till about

daylight with occasional rests, but we soon began to gain motion, and march longer at a time, and again the men began to apply for passes to fall out. Long before noon it became evident that we were under a forced march. We were marching very rapidly and scarcely allowed to rest at all. A general complaint arose, which was by no means confined to privates—Lieutenants and Captains caught the contagion, and I overheard the Colonel (Madill), himself, saying that he regarded it as cruel to march the soldiers so hard. He said that we ought at least to be allowed 15 minutes rest every hour; and gave it as his opinion, that he could thus make a long march quicker on the whole. Thousands of voices united in showering down imprecations upon the devoted head of Brig.-General Robinson, whose reputation, by the way, was never before very high among those under his command. We made no stop for dinner, but pushed on. Many poor fellows plodded along till weary nature was exhausted. Hundreds could not keep pace, and thus, unconsciously fell behind their companies; so that before noon, the companies of our regiment, were completely mixed up. Many became exhausted while straggling along in the rear of the regiment when their Captains were perhaps far in advance. To overtake their Captains, would be simply impossible, and rest they must. To fall out was only to be overtaken by the rear guard, and according to General Halleck's recent orders, to be regarded as stragglers and treated as deserters. I know there must have been many such, and I venture to say that rigid as military orders are, they were violated in many cases. The first regiment of the Brigade reached Poolesville about two o'clock, but the last of the stragglers, (among whom may be ranked your humble servant) did not arrive before five. As fast as they arrived, the men of our regiment were stationed on picket about three miles west of Poolesville. It seems that a body of rebel cavalry had been making considerable of a demonstration, in the way of stealing horses, and when we arrived they had just made their escape

across the river at Edward's Ferry, with all their spoils. Some say we were only two hours too late to capture the entire force.

When we arrived we were in a poor condition to capture rebs. I could have neither run nor fought. All I could do, I did, viz., to stand sentinel a third of the night. Fifteen of the poor fellows, however, were detailed from our company to hasten to Edward's Ferry in the rain; they did not return until about midnight, had no supper, and if my heart is sensitive to pity, I believe, I pitied these poor, weary, hungry pilgrims. Our march was over. Possibly three years experience in the military service of Uncle Sam will, among the many greater hardships recorded in their history obliterate from our memories, the history of that march, but if so, all the more necessity for recording it here.

But while I am engaged drawing imaginary dark pictures, I will briefly take you through a second drama.

It was Sunday night when we arrived at Poolesville, and we that night drew a single ration for supper. There was considerable foraging done on Monday, to which the Colonel was obliged to call attention, by a long lecture to us all, declaring that it must be stopped immediately. Monday we got no rations, for the trains did not yet get along, but we got at least a little rest. Tuesday morning we were again summoned to march at about four o'clock. On went our knapsacks, but we had orders to pile them up and go on without. We had done without rations for thirty-six hours already, and we, of course, hoped to get some breakfast before we marched far; but we hoped in vain. We marched towards Edward's Ferry, a distance of about five miles. A canal stretches along on this side of the river, which we crossed by going under an aqueduct and through a respectable mud-hole. This march consumed the entire forenoon, as each man was allowed to divest himself of his shoes and socks and wade. The brigade across, we took the path, and proceeded up stream as far as the mouth of Monocacy Creek, a distance of about eight miles, stationing

portions of the brigade along the canal as pickets. When we reached this place, our regiment was alone, but instead of going farther up, we were somewhat inscrutibly 'bout faced, and marched down the canal about three miles and there stationed by companies of pickets. By this time it was nearly night, and it would not be difficult to imagine that some of us were experiencing some inconvenience for the want of something to eat. We were told that the provision wagons were mired in the above mud-hole, some five or six miles below. Speaking candidly and personally, I confess that I was decidedly hungry, but we were doomed to spend another night without rations. I was the third time in succession detailed to stand as sentinel. Night came, and the boys all lay down, except the pickets, and slept and dreamt of smoking biscuits and inviting tables of all that is good.

Morning came, and in the face of positive orders, sundry quadrupeds and divers fowls were sacrificed without traditional ceremony, "and many other such like things" did we. Few were enabled to procure anything to eat. At last, the rations came at about ten o'clock. It was Wednesday morning, and we had nothing to eat since Sunday night. Over sixty hours.

It is quite easy to suppose that there was some rather tall eating done that morning. We had no reason to complain of the quality of our rations. "Hard-tack and red horse," was devoured as greedily as would have been the most costly luxury of our tables at home. Breakfast was over and our hardships were at an end. None, perhaps, the worse off for their unsanctified feast. That night we shifted our quarters to this place, where we have been ever since, expecting hourly to receive orders to march. You will, by the time you get this, be far better informed of the position of the rebels and the reasons for our various movements, than I am at present able to furnish.

Heavy cannonading was heard from here in the direction

of Harper's Ferry, indicating a sharp engagement. I had little idea of writing as long a letter as I have when I began.

I am happy to subscribe myself, your grateful friend.

4. [Letter to Mr. W. H. Thompson]

History.—This letter was written on May 18, 19, and 20, 1863, and inserted in the *Bradford Argus* very soon after it was received by Mr. Thompson. The clipping preserved does not show the date. In 1881, this letter was laid before the Board of Pension Examiners, and formed their principal basis for granting me an increase of pension.

The Bradford Argus, Towanda, Pennsylvania, May (?), 1863

LETTER FROM THE 141ST REG. P. V. HOSPITAL OF THE THIRD CORPS, NEAR POTOMAC CREEK, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, May 18, 1863.

MOST WORTHY FRIEND: Upon the bed of a wounded soldier might your humble servant be found this fine morning, endeavoring, from a horizontal position, to write a few lines to you, designed to embrace a desultory synopsis of the great drama, as far as could be surveyed from the ranks of an obscure Regiment like our gallant 141st.

You, of course, have anxiously watched the tidings as they came flying over the wires, and carefully perused the more settled details of those who style themselves, "our

specials." You have, doubtless, watched the 3d Corps, headed by General Sickles, throughout the terrible campaign—its feint down the Rappahannock, where it lay a couple of days, while the 1st, under Reynolds, and the 6th, under Sedgwick, laid the pontoon bridges, and effected a crossing—its long forced march of Thursday afternoon till midnight, which was resumed early Friday morning, when we crossed the river at what is known as United States Ford, and penetrated Dixie Proper, to the now noted town of Chancellorsville; how on Saturday afternoon we penetrated the rebel lines for two miles on a double quick, and seized the Spottsylvania Court House road, by which the enemy was endeavoring to gain our right flank, and how after the terribly disastrous flight of the 11th Corps, on our right, we returned, as quick as we went, to the region of our fortifications; how, in so doing, we were called to take the place of the scattered and demoralized 11th, and form into a line to defend our rear, which had been thus exposed to Jackson's savage hordes; how three times it resisted, like an adamantine butment, the awful and desperate assaults of the foe, by the bright moonlight of Saturday night, and how on Sunday morning, the great day of the battle, we charged the enemy and held him in check, till nearly half our noble braves had been chosen the victims of the enemy's deadly missles, till completely overwhelmed by superior numbers, we were compelled to fall back behind the new lines of work which our gallant JOE had skilfully prepared to protect the army, and insure the line of retreat, if such should become a necessity. *We*, did I say? I mean those of us who had through good fortune, come out of the "fiery ordeal" intact. Early Sunday morning, our Regiment, which had been doing picket duty during the night, and had thus escaped the desperate moonlight attack of the foe, rejoined the rest of the Corps, which occupied an eminence considerably exposed to the enemy's fire, should they advance from the wood, which they did soon after we came up. The bullets began to whizz around among us pretty

freely. We were ordered to cover, that is, lie down, but we had not lain long before our position being deemed too much exposed, we were ordered up, and began to move over the crest; but some of the boys were in too great a hurry, and the falling back behind our batteries was attended with some loss and considerable confusion. Before we had fallen back far enough to get out of the range of the bullets, one came and wounded our Captain (Spaulding).

When we came in rear of our batteries, our regiment had become restored to perfect order. We had a line in the piece of woods in front of our breastworks, which was fighting desperately, and by this time must have been greatly exhausted. Our Brigade marched around to the left of the batteries, and advanced, amid a shower of shot and shell across the meadow to their relief. This advance was made in splendid style, and the advance line having dexterously slipped through our ranks, we opened furiously upon the foe. From the point where I was it was impossible for me to see a single gray back through the thick wood. Fearing that I should waste all the ammunition I fired away under such circumstances, I rather reserved my fire impatiently awaiting for an order to advance, I was not doomed to wait long, for soon the cry of forward ran along the line, amid the terrible roar of battle. This advance was gallantly made, and accompanied by vociferous cheering. We soon came in full view of the enemy, who were flying in confusion, but having another line immediately behind them, they again advanced, pouring a terrible volley of bullets into our ranks, while we were returning the compliment with so much effect that they strewed the ground with the slain as they moved along. Directly in front of me, they were crowding through a gap in an old fence, and into this dense mass of gray backed humanity (?) I poured round after round. I was chuckling over this grand opportunity offered me for thinning out the enemies of human liberty, when a silent messenger came and entering the upper part of my right knee, glanced on the

bone, and making its egress, passed to the rear, bringing me to the ground. At the same moment, Captain Swart, of Company C, who was at the time holding the colors, was shot dead, and the "ample folds" of the glorious old flag fell gracefully over me, completely enshrouding me. Notwithstanding the danger I was in, and the excitement of the occasion, I could not help reflecting upon my poetic position. But no time was to be lost, and having partially recovered from the shock occasioned by the bullet hole through my knee, I set about to ascertain what powers of locomotion I still possessed, and found to my satisfaction that I was far less helpless than I had supposed. I crawled out from under the "Red, White, and Blue," and rising to my feet discovered that I was able to walk. Not knowing how small or great the wound might be, and thinking, perhaps, it was not of much account, and not wishing to abandon a good job for a mere "pin scratch," I picked up my gun and again "went in." All this you will bear in mind, was enacted far quicker than I can write or you can read it, and I looked for a profitable place to point my musket, I perceived that they still thronged the gap, each striving to get through first. I took care to aim into the thickest mass of heads, where every bullet must have summoned one or more to the High Tribunal, where they would be called upon to settle their entire accounts—where Sambo's claims for children sold, wife banished, wages unpaid, etc., etc., will be sure to be filed in—and as Confederate scrip is very much depreciated, and in fact worthless except in Dixie, I was chuckling over the idea that very few would be able to "bail out," and consequently would have to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, and perhaps take their turn at the auction block or the whipping post, when a couple more of their friendly peacemakers came whizzing along in quick succession, making a pair of holes through me, in a workmanlike manner. The first, after it had entered my left pant's pocket and demolished a small wooden screw inkstand, which I had carried there for

three quarters of a year, passed through the thick muscle of my thigh, just missing the bone. The next one paid a similar tribute to the other thigh. I took the hint, and started for the rear, taking with me my gun, knapsack, and everything I had, being determined that the enemy should not get my arms and accoutrements, unless they got me. I could scarcely navigate, but managed to gain a wretched old log tenement, behind our batteries, where I remained throughout the awful storm of battle that raged with unrestrained fury till between 10 and 11 o'clock.

Thus for three hours, I was on contested ground, exposed to the rage of the howling missles of death. Many other poor wounded men had dragged themselves to the same place, and the first floor was soon covered with sufferers. As the enemy advanced, the roar of battle became almost deafening. Pieces of shell, grape, canister, and occasionally a cannon ball, came rattling about the dilapidated old building, entering the open doors and windows, and threatening us all with death. A young man was standing by me as I lay upon the dirty floor. A crash, a rattle against the logs, and I felt a slight pressure against my left shoulder; I looked up, and to my horror saw the young man slowly settling down beside me to rise no more! A gory stream of mingled blood and brains was gushing out of his right eye, which plainly told the tale of horror. A moment and he was a corpse. I could enumerate a ghastly category of similar cases that passed within the range of my observation, but my letter is already assuming an unwarranted prolixity. Suffice it to say, that I did not remove from that modern Golgotha till I was borne away in an ambulance, eleven days after the battle, and conveyed hither.

Our sojourn among the "chivalry," though a period of unutterable loneliness, was nevertheless marked by many little incidents of particular interest. Our opportunities for learning the general sentiments of the rebel soldiery and the rebel officers, and Confederate opinions generally on the great question of the war were excellent. Allowance had

to be made for their temporary flush of victory. The old log house constituted a hospital, in and around which the wounded were brought from the field around, on the three days following the battle, to the number of 280. Three surgeons (Unionists) were with us, and a scanty number of attendants, allowed us from the prisoners taken by the rebels, constituted our only aid. For the first three or four days we nearly starved, a pint of thin flour gruel per day, being all that could be allowed us. Fortunately, my "eight days rations," with which I had started, were not yet entirely consumed, but I could not turn a deaf ear to the pitiful cry of a wounded man for bread, and these were soon exhausted. The last two or three days, however, of our stay, the rebels furnished us with a few of their mammoth army crackers and some bacon. While their army was in the vicinity, we had plenty of visitors from almost every State in the Confederacy. The subject was generally the war. The soldiers were inclined to be reasonable, in most cases declaring themselves tired of it, and hoping it would soon close. Nearly all of them said they were satisfied with the old Union, and would be yet; would be glad to have peace once more with the Union, while a large number expressed their disgust with the cause of the rebellion, and said they would be glad to get out of the rebel army at any sacrifice. One fellow told me that he had been drafted into the service two years ago; he never had shot at a Union man yet, and never should; he had two brothers in Grant's army, and had been fishing for a chance to desert ever since he went to the army. Another fellow said he never calculated to fight against the Union, and to this end he showed us how the day of the battle he had taken the trouble to shoot off one of his fingers with his own gun. The Confederate officers presented an entirely different front to us. They are generally well educated, and intensely Secesh. They affirm that the South would fight as long as a man was left. One, in particular, entered the room where we lay wounded upon the floor, groaning, and many

dying, and began a furious assault, seasoned well with rhetorical invectives, upon us and our cause.

For a moment he was permitted to show off his talents and base principles unrebuked. He was about closing his harangue, supposing, no doubt, that his fine language and profound logic (?) were poorly appreciated among a set of hirelings, when suddenly he was met by a Yankee argument, in the form of an interrogatory (of course), that came near staggering him. He managed to stumble around it and over it as best he could, but only to entangle himself in a tissue of network from which he, with much difficulty, succeeded in extricating himself, which indeed he only did by finding business in another quarter. But he stayed long enough to discover that all the schoolhouses in the great free North were not built in vain, and long enough to learn what to him was of far more consequence, viz., that the soldiers of the Union here, by no means, are inclined to sympathize with traitors either in arms, or at home; that they, notwithstanding the pain experienced from their wounds, were sensible to the cowardly tirade he had seen fit to belch forth against them, and ready to manifest with withering effect their virtuous indignation against it. I was glad to see the boys come out so manfully in support of great principles.

The Union army is an invincible host, from the intelligence and patriotic zeal of its soldiery, as well as its officers. They are all ready to carry on the war against treason and rebellion, without regard to time, till they yield to unconditional submission.

But I must bring this to a close, leaving out, necessarily, much that I would be happy to communicate. I am safe at the Corps Hospital, expecting to be transferred somewhere before many days. May it be to the land of friends and pleasant associations.

Yours, in truth.

5. The Punishment of Traitors

History.—Probably written on the day of date, April 10, 1865, and published in the *Daily National Republican* the following morning. I was a stalwart in my political sentiments and greatly opposed to any general amnesty at that time. It fairly represents the feeling that then existed in the rank and file of the army.

The Daily National Republican, Washington, D. C., Vol. V., No. 117, April 13, 1865, first page

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WASHINGTON, D. C., April 10, 1865.

Editor Daily National Republican,

DEAR SIR: In this hour of universal exultation we cannot but feel that there is greater danger of sacrifice of national honor and principle than there ever was in the dark hours of disaster. We, therefore, most earnestly and anxiously urge you to exert the powerful influence of your columns in opposition to the unmanly and detestable utterances of the *Daily Morning Chronicle* and kindred prints, which will seek to take advantage of the popular weakness at such a time, and foist upon the country a shameful amnesty to avowed and red-handed traitors. We recognize the entire

propriety and chivalry of General Grant's terms, offered as a conquering warrior, but we deny that the people, much less the soldiers, will be at all satisfied to see this wronged, defied, insulted, and assailed nation grant a free pardon to those ineffable scoundrels who have grasped at its throat and stabbed at its heart. Such a policy would establish a precedent infinitely dangerous and dishonorable to the American name. If the nation's statesmen cannot perceive this, its soldiers can.

General Grant has nobly performed his part in his own knightly way as the chieftain of a victorious army dealing with a conquered belligerent. Let the nation as nobly perform its part as a great people dealing with those crime-stained rebels who have so wantonly been slaughtering the flower of its youth. Are they any more pardonable after stern necessity compels them to submit than when the tide of success was bearing them on in their career of crime? No! They are not repentant! Let the nation deal out condign punishment to the guilty leaders, not in wrath nor in vengeance, but in justice, in honor, in wisdom, pardoning only the deluded victims of ignorance and slavery.

Respectfully yours,

ONE WHO HAS BLED TO PUNISH TRAITORS.

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6. [Circular of the National Liberal Reform League]

History.—Growing out of a Sunday Lyceum of which I had been a member for some time, there sprang up in the fall of 1869 in Washington a strong desire to put our liberal ideas before a larger public. But most of the members of the Lyceum held public office and were apprehensive that open opposition to the church might endanger their positions. It was therefore decided to form a secret society or league for the propagation of our liberal ideas. It fell to me to draft a suitable circular, and this I did on November 18, 1869. I possess the original rough draft of it in my hand writing. I am not sure whether the name of the League was suggested by me or was the result of a general discussion. I was also depended upon to attend to the business of having the circulars printed, and I corresponded with Mr. Mendum, editor of the *Boston Investigator*, and ultimately succeeded in getting it done in Boston. The circulars were received December 9, 1869, and were then distributed to liberals throughout the country.

The following is the circular:

PRIVATE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., ———— 18—.

SIR: An enterprise has been set on foot in the District of Columbia, for the dissemination of Liberal Ideas, to which every friend of mental liberty is asked to lend his support. An organization has been formed, and is now in active operation, with which it is hoped and believed every liberal-minded person in the District will unite himself as soon as made aware of its existence and its character. Its objects are, in the words of its charter, "the dissemination of liberal sentiment; the opposition to all forms of superstition; the exposition of all fallacious moral and religious doctrines, and the establishment of the principles of mental, moral, and religious liberty, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States." Its members agree to leave one another in the undisputed enjoyment of all other tenets, doctrines, beliefs, and isms, and unite upon the cardinal principles of hostility to the leading doctrinal teachings of the so-called Catholic and Evangelical Protestant Churches, and of zeal for the triumph of reason and science over faith and theology; thus enabling this otherwise heterogeneous host (for when united they are truly a host) to unite in a powerful co-operative alliance for practical results. But the crowning characteristic of this organization is the entire indemnity which it affords every member from the proscriptions of public opinion, the ostracism of society, and all the blows which religious bigotry never fails to aim at the social, political, and business interests of the enemies of superstition, whenever they can be identified. In a word it is a *secret* association, and every possible safeguard is thrown around its proceedings, and especially the fact of every one's membership in it; so that while its power is being felt throughout the community, and strongest where most needed and least desired, no man can point his finger at a single member and say, "This is one of them."

This organization is now in full force under the name of THE NATIONAL LIBERAL REFORM LEAGUE. Ample provision is made for its extension to other cities of the Union, and for making it, as its name implies, a truly National movement, in the double sense of its origin and its extent. As to its method of proceeding in carrying out its objects, it may be said to consist of the old plan—so long and effectually tried by the church and by all political parties—of the scattering broadcast of printed matter in its various forms, as tracts, pamphlets, perodicals, and books of sound and approved character, wherever, in the opinion of the League, they are most needed.

The organization is now in possession of a printing press, and has already commenced the issue of a paper as the exponent of its principles. It is enlarging its labors as rapidly as its means will permit.

Its present demand is for more members. The terms of admission, for those qualified, are placed at the lowest possibly figure, viz., an initiation fee of one dollar, and quarterly dues of fifty cents; hoping that by thus drawing into its lists every friend of Liberalism in the District of Columbia, this little sum will be so often multiplied that, with such contributions as may be voluntarily subscribed by those who feel able, the comparatively moderate expenses necessary to carry on a truly great work will be easily defrayed. An earnest appeal is therefore made to all who favor the objects above set forth, under whatever name they prefer to be styled,—Liberals, Skeptics, Infidels, Secularists, Utilitarians, Socialists, Positivists, Spiritualists, Deists, Theists, Pantheists, Atheists, Freethinkers, all who desire the mental emancipation of mankind from the trammels of superstition, and the dominion of priestcraft, to unite in this movement and join the N. L. R. League, without delay. Your moral support, your intellectual contributions, as well as your substantial offerings, are needed in advancing the cause of true freedom.

If these considerations enlist your sympathy, you are

requested to put yourself in immediate communication, by addressing LOCK BOX NO. ——, WASHINGTON POST OFFICE, whereby you may obtain full particulars in regard to the matter.

By order of the

N. L .R. L.

7. The Situation

History.—This was my salutatory editorial in launching *The Iconoclast*, and this is the proper place to give an account of that enterprise. The National Liberal Reform League proposed to "do something," and the thing it did was to start an "organ" for the dissemination of the ideas of its members. At a meeting of the League on January 18, 1870, this action was decided upon, and the name adopted for the organ was: THE OTHER SIDE. I did not like that name, but no better one occurring to me, I acquiesced. On March 8, 1870, the name *Iconoclast* occurred to me, and I suggested its adoption, which was unanimously and enthusiastically approved by the League. One of the members was a printer and the composition was referred to him. Several members offered to contribute, but there must be an editor. This charge fell to me. The idea of publishing was not new. It was not an afterthought. It was in the minds of the members before that of a league. It was the cause and not the consequence of the

League. In anticipation of it I had already, on November 20 and 22, 1869, drawn up a paper embodying what I thought should be said in the first number. This was rewritten on January 14, 1870, further revised on February 10th, and appeared in its present form as the initial foreword of the *Iconoclast.* The first number of the *Iconoclast* appeared very soon after its date, March 15, 1870. It was published monthly thereafter for eighteen months. I continued to edit it all that time and contributed much more than half the matter. This was not all original, but was gathered from all sources. Most of the selections had to be found in libraries and laboriously copied out of the volumes containing them. The League received few recruits, while no less than three of its most active members died during that time, others lost their offices and were compelled to leave Washington, and others grew lukewarm and lost their interest. The burden grew heavier and heavier upon my shoulders and reached the limit of endurance in the summer of 1871. But I do not think the quality of the matter deteriorated and the last number is fully up to the standard of the first. The paper remained unchanged in form and each number consisted of a single sheet of four pages, the pages not numbered. The first twelve numbers are called Volume I., and the remaining six are all there is of Volume II. The pages have each three columns.

The Iconoclast, Vol. I, No. 1, Washington, D. C., March, 1870.

IN this age of rational and scientific progress it seems eminently fitting that organs of mental and religious liberty should be multiplied to keep pace with the spirit of inquiry. There is a want in the thinking world which the frowns of society and the fear of public disapprobation have thus far prevented from being supplied. It will be the aim of our paper, in so far as its influence extends, to supply that want. We desire, however, to be known, not as mere fault-finders and cavilers, but as humanitarians.

If we attack superstition, it is because we regard it an enemy of the human race. If we assail the Church, it is because we are satisfied that its tendency is to diminish the sum of human happiness. If we criticize and expose its doctrines, it is because we feel that they are errors and that all errors entail misery upon the race.

We have thoroughly examined the teachings, character, and effects of the great and popular institution known as the Orthodox Church; we have inspected its leading doctrines, and satisfied ourselves they are only the modified superstitions of barbarous ages, the natural offspring of man's primitive ignorance. We have studied the character of the institution and its leading minds, and find in them nothing superior in point of wisdom or of merit to those entirely secular. We have traced its effects upon the world and we discover them to be of the most pernicious character. We therefore hesitate not to pronounce it a great delusion, a gigantic error, inconsistent with all the dictates of reason, and incompatible with all the revelations of science, and therefore in the highest degree destructive, alike of the virtue, the progress, and the happiness of mankind. As such, and as such only, we shall spare no effort to expose its fallacies, demonstrate its absurdities, explode its dogmas, and disintegrate its constituent elements.

This is indeed a fitting time for undertaking such an enterprise. We are to-day, as it were, on the eve of a

religious crisis. We are near to one of those great culminating epochs which have occurred but a few times in the recorded history of man. Whenever in the march of human civilization the rationalistic element has risen high enough to encroach upon the superstitious element there has been a shock, and the latter power has girded itself anew for the subjugation of the former. The prisoner who has attempted to escape is loaded with a heavier chain. The mind, guided by the lamp of reason, is ever seeking for deliverance from its intolerable bondage. But when it seems to be bursting off its fetters and rising into the pure atmosphere of liberty, the great Vulcanus of religious bigotry thrusts it back into its dungeon and forges a new and heavier bolt to hold it there forever. It was thus when the heretical teachings of the Greek philosophers dared to ignore the religion of polytheism, and seek in reason an explanation of the universe and a code of morals, and the noble life of a Socrates was not enough to expiate the crime.

It was so when the Alexandrian philosophers dared to assert their right to think, and that noble school was interdicted and suppressed by the arbitrary fiat of the Christian emperor Justinian. It was so when Martin Luther and his followers strove to burst the bonds of papal tyranny and purify the atmosphere of priestly corruption, and the world is too well aware with what a sacrifice of human blood they paid for their temerity. It was so when the Church of England pursued the Puritans and the Catholics from their country and forced them to take an asylum on the bleak shores of New England, or amid the barren wilderness of Maryland. And, as if no lessons of experience could teach them, the same Puritans who had claimed to have been seeking religious liberty, showed clearly that it only meant liberty to think as they should direct, by re-enacting history and persecuting Baptists, Quakers, imaginary witches, and every other class who dared to dissent from their doctrines.

And now, as once more the rational element is rising

into respectability and power, the same insatiate monster, bigotry, is aiming at its throat. Man has indeed advanced too far to need apprehend the spilling of blood. But there are a thousand ways in which the persecutor can pursue his victim and ruin him utterly, without the shedding of blood. And foremost among these base attempts may be ranked the present demand of the Church for a national endorsement in the Constitution of the United States. They seek to subvert the very principles of that charter and remand the nation into an adulterous marriage with a prostituted Church.

The spirit of bigotry manifests itself again in the persistent effort of the Church to prevent the introduction of science into the schools and universities of the country. Science is the acknowledged enemy of Theology. Why? Because it teaches truth. Theology is error. Everything that teaches truth militates against theology. The clergy admit it, and therefore they oppose science, and often go so far as to regard general education of any kind as dangerous to the people. Thus it is that they are endeavoring to restrict it to the dead languages, unapplied mathematics, religio-moral philosophy, and Evidences (?) of Christianity. They dare not trust science in any form. No, they dare not even trust history without first subjecting it to the censorship of the ecclesiastical councils. Impartial history tells too many truths not calculated to benefit their cause.

Against all this we solemnly protest, and demand that our constitution in this particular be left as it is, broad and unrestrictive, the especial guardian of no religion or creed; that science be taught, not only in colleges but in the common schools, and that education be unfettered by theology; that free speech and freedom of the press be preserved, and universal freedom of opinion be the watchword of the nation. For thus only can the great work of elevating and ameliorating the condition of the people be successfully prosecuted.

March, 1870—Ætat. 28.

8. Legal Persecution

History.—Written January 12, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1870

THE recent decision of Judge Sharswood, of Philadelphia, to the effect that a charitable bequest to an "infidel society" is void, has surprised every thinking mind in the country, and is even denounced by many of those to whose prejudices the judge evidently thought he was catering, as an invasion of personal rights. The extra-judicial opinion of the judge that Pennsylvania has an established State religion must be equally abhorrent to all friends of republican liberty.

This decision should carry to the mind of every liberal reader the immediate necessity of organization. It is time to convince religious bigots that Infidelity, so-called, is entitled to that legal equality which our national constitution guarantees.

There is another lesson conveyed in this decision; that men or women who have anything to give for charitable objects ought to make their donations while living. Otherwise their intentions may be defeated by those who assume that they alone are gifted with wisdom.

March, 1870—Ætat. 28.

9. [Editorial: The Present Age]

History.—Written January 12, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1870

THE present age is eminently prolific of free thought and revolt against that kind of *authority* which would force upon the people the primitive civilizations of by-gone centuries. We are living in, and have to do mainly, with the present, and hence we shall fearlessly criticise all systems or governments, whether they claim to be divine or human, which serve to keep the mind in bondage and thwart the aspirations of the human race, by holding up to the people as finalities effete systems of the past which are wholly inadequate to their present wants and demands.

In advocating or expressing our views, we shall avoid all controversies of a personal nature; and appealing rather to the reason of our readers than to their prejudices and fears, seek to inculcate, in plain and simple terms, the necessity of governing themselves by the laws and truths of Nature, rather than looking for their guides to action in the mysteries set up by fallible men.

We do not propose to erect an infallible standard for men and women to worship by, and therefore we can afford to be charitable toward all; holding, as we do, that only

through an interchange of views are we at all likely to arrive at correct conclusions upon any subject.

We shall not advocate any particular theory of religion or secularism, but leave all men and women free to accept what accords with their unbiased judgment of right, or reject what they cannot conscientiously accept. Our aim shall be to secure the largest possible mental liberty for all; and to oppose only those who are the opponents of liberty.

10. [Editorial: Religious Bias of Judges]

History.—Written January 13, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1870

OF the judges of the superior court of Cincinnati who decided the question regarding the Bible in the public schools, Judge Storer is an Episcopalian, Judge Hoadley a Methodist, and Judge Taft a liberal Unitarian.

It is generally known that the two orthodox judges voted to retain the Bible, and Judge Taft to exclude it.

How completely are both law and justice sacrificed to the bias and private interests of their public guardians! We suppose these guardians are necessary, but "*quis custodes custodiet?*"

March, 1870—Ætat. 28.

11. What Does It Prove?

History.—Probably written in January, 1870. None of my articles in the *Iconoclast* are signed with my name or initials. When in the nature of communications they were often given some initial, as "F" in this case.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1870

IT is said that particular cases prove nothing. If a church member falls they say it is no fault of the Church, and no argument against its teachings. Grant it. No one wishes to make it serve any such purpose. But this much it certainly does establish, viz., the fact that orthodox religion does not make a man any better than if he were without it. The profession of religion does not change any one. It leaves every one with all his former faults, inclinations, and passions, and equally liable with other men to yield to the power of habit or temptation. It does not change human nature.

If an unbeliever commits a fault, the Church is quick to charge it to his lack of religion; but if a member does the same, they deny that it proves anything. The truth is that no profession of faith or lack of faith has anything to do with a man's morals. They depend upon something entirely

distinct; upon the character which he either inherits or acquires.

Away with the bug-bear that to be good we must be pious! Come half-way and agree with us, with common sense, and with universal experience, that religion has nothing whatever to do with morality. If a man is moral and upright, he is so whether within or without the church. If he is mean and unprincipled it is the same. Nero would have been a tyrant if he had been a Christian, Henry VIII would have been a monster if he had been a pagan, Aurelius would have been a good man if he had been a Christian, Washington would have been a true man if he had been a stoic. It is in nature, in character, in disposition, and not in religious opinions. History proves this. A thousand daily events demonstrate it.

If we were disposed to be uncharitable we might instance a score of cases which have happened within a very brief period, to show that clergymen and church members commit some of the most foul and dastardly crimes and abominations. We might charge them home upon their religious training. But we forbear. When married clergymen elope with their laymen's daughters; when Christian ministers whip their own children to death; when pious clerks rob the religious tract societies; when these and a thousand other rascalities in the Church are transpiring too fast to keep before the mind, we say we have the advantage. But we forbear to press it. We prefer to be fair and candid, and, most of all, we prefer to be truthful. That which we do claim; that which we do ask them to admit; that which these facts joined to the testimony of all human history, demonstrates; the proposition which the logic of all the churchmen in Christendom cannot refute by any fair argument, is this: that religion and morals are totally distinct; that religion does not make men better; that being good and being pious are no more related than being rich and being handsome.

F.

12. Science vs. Theology

History.—Written April 3–4, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1870

SCIENCE is the great Iconoclast. Lord Bacon, the founder of inductive science, commenced the work of purification by breaking up the idols of the human intellect. He found it necessary before his "Great Restoration" could begin to destroy the Idols of the Tribe, the Den, the Market, and the Theater. Ever since his day, science has been continuing the work of image-breaking. Steadily pursuing its course, turning neither to the right nor to the left, it has already revolutionized the world. Begun by such men as Galileo, Bacon, and Newton; continued by Franklin, Cuvier, and Humboldt, and still pushed forward by an Agassiz, a Tyndall, and a Huxley, it has been quietly and unostentatiously pursuing its course; raising no issues, picking no quarrels, avoiding all controversy, and yet exerting an influence which is upheaving the old systems, both of government and of religion, and threatening to rebuild the entire frame-work of society itself. But its especial tendency—we do not say its aim—is to purify, if not to supersede, the whole system of theology which has so long prevailed over mankind. And though it

does not attack theology, still it is to-day shaking its very foundations.

The aim of science, pre-eminently and exclusively, is to know the truth. It has no prejudices; it rides no hobbies; it clings to no pet ideas. It is ready to sacrifice its most cherished theories the moment they are found not to square with that one great standard, truth. It is willing to labor; it is not sluggish, or delicate, or puffed up. It digs its treasures out of the bowels of the earth, or seeks them amid the hazy nebulæ of heaven. It toils and delves and asks no praise from man, no favor shown of God. But this is perhaps no more than the stoics did; no more than the pilgrim or the monk has done. But a tree is known by its fruits.

The candid world is beginning to compare the fruits of theology with those of science. And what does it find? It finds that theology, though as old as human history, has brought few if any beneficial results; while on the other hand, its manifold evils lie scattered all along its pathway. Take from its history all the details of its wars, its conquests, its persecutions, and its massacres, and there would be nothing left but the graves of its hundred million victims, and the magnificent temples and costly tombs which it has taken the bread from the mouths of a starving world for four thousand years to erect.

Turning from such a picture to the result of scientific labor, behold the contrast! Scarce three hundred years have sufficed to transform the whole aspect of society. To enumerate the results of the application of the power of steam and electricity, so apparent to all, and so often alluded to as to have almost become hackneyed, would give but a meager idea indeed of what science has done to elevate, enlighten, and happify mankind. Its magic wand has touched almost every known object in nature—and many but for it unknown—and they have taken forms of beauty, of convenience, and of usefulness. Brilliant gas jets have superseded the dim and unsightly tapers and candles of the

past; elegant fuel-saving stoves have supplanted the ancient chimney places; a thousand labor-saving machines relieve the weary limbs of toiling men and women, while countless factories, mills, and machine shops are supplying fabrics of every description to enhance the comfort and increase the enjoyment of mankind.

We can scarcely fix our mind upon one temporal blessing that we enjoy to-day, from the luxury of good food to the luxury of good health, for which we are not indebted to science. But besides these countless physical blessings science affords the highest and purest intellectual delight. It has let us into the arcana of the infinite universe, and taught us to contemplate the wonders of nature, from the vast firmament of revolving spheres to the infinitesimal world of moving atoms; from the sparkling crystal to the living organism, the contemplation of which sublime truths yields to the mind a holier ecstasy than any reflections upon the character and attributes of anthropomorphic deities, or any selfish hopes of a future eternity of bliss. And when we remember that which is the crowning glory of science, that with all these blessings she has never cost one human life, one drop of human blood, one pang of human suffering, how long will the world hesitate to pronounce its decision?

April, 1870—Ætat. 28

13. Organization

History.—Written March 21, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1870

A WANT of organization, on the one hand, has prevented more human enjoyment than any other one cause; while on the other hand perhaps, organization, where it has existed, has been almost as fatal to human welfare as the lack of it where it has not existed. The evil that it has done, however, is more apparent than that which its absence has permitted to be done; and it is not to be wondered at that liberal minds should draw from this fact the conclusion that organization has, upon the whole, been an evil and should be avoided. But in whatever light we regard it, we cannot escape learning one lesson, which an observation of its effects ever forcibly inculcates, viz., that organization is a power. If formed in an evil cause, it wields a mighty power for evil; if in a good cause, for good. The question, therefore, is no longer, whether organization is right in itself, but whether the cause in which it is formed is a righteous cause.

Making all due allowance for man's liability to err and mistake the true effects of his actions, we are compelled at last to fall back upon our own judgment, as the world has always done in the past, and act out our convictions

with boldness, remembering, in the words of Jefferson, that "we are answerable, not for the rightness, but for the uprightness" of our deeds.

While, therefore, we would warn every individual to think well before seeking to bring this powerful engine of co-operation to bear upon any institution, and satisfy himself in advance that such a course is for the substantial good of mankind, at the same time we cannot too strongly urge him not to fail to adopt it, with all the earnestness of his soul, when once he has thus matured and settled his convictions. Have you a truth which, if enforced, would benefit humanity? Seek, then, to secure its adoption. As long as you keep it locked up in your own bosom it is useless to yourself and to others. If a thousand persons possess the same truth and thus conceal it, the great evils which its diffusion would prevent will still go on as though they were as ignorant as the rest of mankind. Neither has any one or two of them, acting independently, any appreciable power to prevent them. But let them organize; let the thousand unite; put their offerings, however small, together; concentrate their efforts, crystalize their common truth into words that shall burn, and scatter them broadcast over the land, then shall they find that they will bring forth a rich and abundant harvest.

Permit us an illustration. In the District of Columbia there are, safely speaking, a thousand persons who are firmly convinced, from the most irresistible evidence, that the existing orthodox church (Catholic and Evangelical Protestant) is an irreconcilable enemy of mankind; that it is founded only in error, and productive only of evil. These—we speak not now of Unitarians, Jews, or Spiritualists; not because they do not come under this definition, nor because we do not recognize them as liberals, but because they have, generally, distinct organizations of their own—are doing absolutely nothing to carry out this their settled conviction and humanitarian principle. Why? Because they are not organized. Could such an organization be formed, it

would equal, if not surpass in influence, any one sect or church organization in the District.

A nucleus for such an organization has already been formed. Few in numbers and poor in purse, but rich in zeal for the success of the cause, they have nevertheless started a liberal paper. True, it is small, and issued only monthly, but it is a beginning, and on a scale which can be kept up at all events. The association which has undertaken this enterprise, without a dream of profit but with a certainty of pecuniary loss, is founded on the broadest and most liberal principles. It asks but one qualification for its members—non-conformity with the Orthodox Church—thus leaving them untrammelled with any belief or disbelief in any and all other doctrines or beliefs. Now we ask, what good reason can be assigned to exist why this nucleus should not be swelled into a large and powerful organization, capable of commanding respect and wielding a great and widespread influence for good? We see no reason why every liberal in the District should not come forward immediately and join the National Liberal Reform League, either as an active or a contributing member, and thus render some practical aid to so praiseworthy an object. Fifty cents every three months is surely a mere trifle, and many should be willing to make additional contributions. Our little paper might, in this manner, be enlarged into a respectable journal and published weekly, and Washington would stand foremost among the cities of the United States in advancing the good cause of mental, moral, and religious liberty.

14. Charles H. Read and the Faculty of Harvard University

History.—The letter to the Faculty was drafted by me April 4, 1870, and subsequently signed by the ten persons. Dean Gurney's reply was received April 13th.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1870

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 5, 1870.

To the Faculty of Harvard University.

SIRS: The undersigned take the liberty of sending you the enclosed hand-bill of Mr. Charles H. Read, and respectfully call your attention to the last paragraph of the same, in which an allusion to you is made, and your names, or at least some of them are attached.[1]

[1] NOTE.—The following is the paragraph which appears on the hand-bill alluded to:

"Mr. Read has appeared before eighteen of the Professors of Harvard, and they pronounce his exhibition one of the most wonderful they have ever witnessed; and that the manifestations were satisfactory to them—although they could not account for them upon scientific principles.—Prof. Treadwell, Prof. Agassiz, Prof. Eustis, Dr. Wyman."

We are inquirers, and have no object in view but to ascertain the truth in respect to this matter. We have seen Mr. R. perform, some of us under quite favorable circumstances, and can but confess our inability to account for many things done by him upon any known scientific principles. Still, aware as we are of the extent to which tricks of deception and legerdemain have been practised, we do not feel authorized to declare that these may not be classed in this category, and are anxious to hear the opinion of those more learned in science, and who have enjoyed better opportunities for investigation. We should therefore be especially gratified if you would be pleased to answer for us the following questions:

1. Is the statement made in the paragraph alluded to of Mr. Read's hand-bill correct in substance?

2. Had Mr. R. any authority to attach the names there signed?

3. Were the results of your investigations published, as he states, in the *Boston Commercial Advertiser*, or any other paper; and if so, of what date?

Mr. Read states that he appeared seven times before you; that you placed him upon a glass floor, tied him with a silk cord, sewed him up in a sack, and did many other things to test the phenomena, but that they took place notwithstanding. To give these statements credence we require something more than his testimony; but if they are true, your confirmation of them would be worth more to us than even the testimony of our own senses. Any general statements on your part with regard to these matters will be thankfully received.

In conclusion we desire to re-assure you that we are prompted to this action by no other motives than those of pure scientific inquiry, and desirous neither of proving nor disproving any pre-existing theories of our own, either in physics, metaphysics, or religion. We have no doubt that these phenomena take place in accordance with natural laws, and we only desire to know whether, in your opinion (pro-

vided you have made the experiments alleged), these laws are among those already known, but disguised by the dexterity of the performer; or whether they are to be classed among those (of which there are still doubtless many) which science has not yet been able to deduce and define. Hoping you may not deem our demands unreasonable, and may, as far as practicable, accede to them, we respectfully subscribe ourselves.

L. F. Ward.	W. C. Murdock.
Jonathan Forrest.	H. T. Smith.
M. H. Doolittle.	J. H. Kingsbery.
J. Record.	Wm. H. Schively.
Maurice Pechin.	Geo. McLane Wood.

Reply

Harvard College, Cambridge Mass.,
11th April, 1870.

Messrs. Ward, and others:

Gentlemen: I remember that Prof. Wyman, who is now in Europe, mentioned to me some time last year, that he was present, with other gentlemen of Cambridge, at the house of Prof. Treadwell, in which a man who professed to be tied and untied in some mysterious manner, and who went through the usual programme of that character at first with success, found himself unable to repeat the performance when he was tied with simple spool cotton; and again, when a piece of sticking-plaster was put over the knot.

Since receiving your note I have written to Prof. Eustis, who was also present on that occasion, and who writes me, "that no doubt was left in the mind of any one that it was a simple trick of slipping the hands out and replacing them." He thinks the man's name was Read, but does not feel sure on that point. "The spool cotton, with a simple tie around each wrist, and more than a foot slack, with no other fastening, was thoroughly disheartening to the spirits, and they abandoned the field."

Prof. Wyman told me nothing of "insulation," "silk cord," "sewing up in a sack," and I entirely discredit each item of the story.

Truly yours,

E. W. GURNEY,

Dean of the Faculty.

15. Abraham Lincoln's Religion

History.—Copied from the *Toledo Index* soon after it appeared and inserted with an explanatory note.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1870

THE *Toledo* (Ohio) *Index*, of April 2d, has an article upon the above subject, from the pen of W. H. Herndon. Mr. H. was for twenty years the law partner and intimate friend of the late President of the United States, and must consequently be well-informed upon the subject which he so ably handles. The article is too lengthy for our columns, and we therefore give our readers only its main features:

"Mr. Lincoln moved to this city (Springfield, Ill.), in 1837, and here he became acquainted with various men of his own way of thinking. At that time they called themselves Freethinkers or free thinking men. I remember all these things distinctly, for I was with them, heard them, and was one of them. Mr. Lincoln here found other works—Hume, Gibbon, and others, and drank them in. He made no secret of his views, no concealment of his religion. He boldly avowed himself an infidel. When Mr. Lincoln was a candidate for our Legislature he was accused of being an infidel, and of having said that Jesus Christ was an

illegitimate child. He never denied his opinions, nor flinched from his religious views; he was a true man, and yet it may be truthfully said that in 1837 his religion was low indeed. In his moments of gloom he would doubt, if he did not sometimes deny, God. He made me once erase the name of God from a speech which I was about to make in 1854, and he did this in Washington to one of his friends. I cannot now name the man nor the place he occupied in Washington; it will be known some time. I have the evidence, and intend to keep it.

"Mr. Lincoln ran for Congress against the Rev. Peter Cartwright, in the year 1847 or 1848. In that contest he was accused of being an infidel, if not an atheist; he never denied the charge—would not—'would die first'; in the first place because he knew it could and would be proved on him; and in the second place he was too true to his own convictions, to his own soul, to deny it. From what I know of Mr. Lincoln, and from what I have heard and verily believe, I can say: first, that he did not believe in a special creation, his idea being that all creation was an evolution under law; secondly, he did not believe that the Bible was a special revelation from God, as the Christian world contends; thirdly, he did not believe in miracles, as understood by the Christian world; fourthly, he believed in universal inspiration and miracles under law; fifthly, he did not believe that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, as the Christian world contends; sixthly, he believed that all things, both matter and mind, were governed by laws, universal, absolute, and eternal. All his speeches and remarks in Washington conclusively prove this. Law was to Lincoln everything—and special interferences, shams and delusions.

"I do not remember ever seeing the words Jesus or Christ in print, as uttered by Mr. Lincoln. If he used these words they can be found. He uses the word God but seldom. I never heard him use the name of Christ or Jesus, but to confute the idea that he was the Christ, the only and truly

begotten Son of God, as the Christian world understands it. The idea that Mr. Lincoln carried the New Testament or Bible in his bosom or boots, to draw on his opponent in debate, is ridiculous. If Christianity cannot live without falsehood, the sooner it dies the better for mankind. Every great man that dies—infidel, pantheist, theist, or atheist—is instantly dragged into the folds of the Church, and transformed through falsehood into the great defender of the faith, unless his opinions are too well known to allow it. Is Christianity in dread or fear? What is the matter with it? Is it sick, and does it dream its doom? Would that it would shake itself free from its follies, and still live till all mankind outgrow it!"

May, 1870—Ætat. 28.

16. The Entering Wedge

History.—Written May 6, 1870. I made no effort to preserve the manuscripts of my contributions to the *Iconoclast*, but of this one I find the manuscript among my papers, only the last folio is wanting.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 3, May, 1870

ONE of the most important duties of an independent journal is to disabuse the public mind of its false impressions. There is no more deep-seated or widespread popular error at this day than that which prevails respecting the religious opinions of great men. It has ever been the aim of the Church, in its efforts at propagandism, to lay claim to every superior intellect that the world has produced the moment he passed off the stage of action and make him a pillar of the Church. This has proved a very successful means of bolstering it up. Every man of distinction, whether in the world of literature or science, whether patriot, sage, or philanthropist, is declared to have been an ardent supporter of the received theology, as soon as death has sealed his lips and rendered a disclaimer no longer possible.

That these claims are not in some cases to a certain degree

legitimate, we do not deny. It would indeed be strange if it were not so. But that they are generally true at all, and that they are ever true to their whole extent, we do deny. On the contrary, it is a remarkable fact, that at least three-fourths of all the great personages that have adorned, illuminated, and benefited the world, since the dawn of Christianity, have been either tacit or avowed dissenters from the leading doctrines of the Church.

We therefore deem it our duty to correct this error. We do not, however, expect to do this by bold denials or asseverations. We propose to do it in the only legitimate way, by publishing, from time to time, as our space will permit, *verbatim* extracts from the writings and sayings of these men, and reliable testimony of their sentiments on this subject. We have already, in this fair and impartial manner, demonstrated that Thomas Jefferson, the framer of our great national charter, the Declaration of Independence, was not only no theologian, but that he was rather a genuine free-thinker, a veritable *doubter* about all those untangible and unpractical dogmas, even to that of a God. And we have shown that Benjamin Franklin had a supreme abhorrence of the worthless ceremonies and formalities and creeds that made up the visible Church in his day. And last, but not least, we have published a document of the utmost reliability to show that Abraham Lincoln was an Infidel! He in whose noble nature were embodied the purest morality, the highest virtues, the broadest charity; the man whose name will be green in the memory of a grateful people when the names of Constantine and Luther and Wesley have been forgotten; that such a man should have been an infidel, an unbeliever, a repudiator of the doctrines of the Christian Church is a fact which should arouse the nation to a more thoughtful contemplation of the inherent value of an institution which claims to be the reformer of the world!

It should, and we predict it will be an *entering wedge* that shall ultimately cleave asunder the ponderous timbers of that institution, destroy its foundation, overthrow its

superstructure, and seek to build upon its ruins a temple of pure justice, to erect an altar to liberty, and a shrine of truth, on which no fires shall be kindled but the fire of love to man, and from which no incense shall ascend but the incense of mercy, of charity, and of fraternal affection.

17. Who Destroyed the Alexandrian Library?

History.—Copied May 31 and June 3, 1870, and inserted with the explanatory note.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 4, June, 1870

EVERYBODY is familiar with the story of the burning of the Alexandrian library by the Saracens, and as it has long been used as a weapon against the Mohammedan religion, we publish the following extracts from the two highest authorities in the world, for the purpose of showing our readers the importance of searching for themselves, instead of taking statements on the faith of a biassed public opinion or a warped current literature. In its article on Alexandria, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says:

"This structure (alluding to the Serapeion) surpassed in beauty and magnificence all others in the world except the Capitol at Rome. Within the verge of this temple was the famous Alexandrian library, . . . containing no fewer than 700,000 volumes.

. . . . . .

"As the museum was at first in that quarter of the city called the Brucheion near the royal palace, the library was

placed there likewise; but when it came to contain 400,000 volumes, another library within the Serapeion was erected, by way of supplement to it. In this second library 300,000 volumes in process of time were deposited, making in all 700,000.

"In the war carried on by Julius Cæsar against the inhabitants of the city, the library in the Brucheion, *with all its contents*, was reduced to ashes. The library in the Serapeion, however, still remains, and here Cleopatra deposited 200,000 volumes of the Pergamenean library. These and others added from time to time rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the former, *but when the Temple of Serapis was demolished under the archiepiscopate of Theophilus, A.D. 389, the valuable library was pillaged or destroyed, and twenty years afterwards the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every intelligent spectator.*"

The same authority, under the article "Amru," further says:

"To Amru has generally been attributed the burning of the famous Alexandrian library, by command of khaliff Omar; but with this act of barbarism, so repugnant to the character of Omar and his general, he is for the first time charged by Abulpharagius, a *Christian* writer *who lived six centuries later*. It is highly probable that few of the 700,000 volumes, collected by the Ptolemies, remained at the time of the Arab conquest, when we consider the various calamities of Alexandria, from the time of Cæsar to those of Caracalla, Diocletian, *and the disgraceful pillage of the library, in A.D. 389, under the rule of a Christian Bishop, Theophilus, a far less respectable character than the Arabian conquerors.*"

We add the following corroborative statement, made by the equally unimpeachable authority *Chambers' Encyclopedia*. in its article on the Alexandrian library:

"The other part of the library was kept in the Serapeion, the temple of Jupiter Serapis, where it remained till the time of Theodosius the Great. When this emperor permit-

ted all the heathen temples in the Roman empire to be destroyed, the magnificent temple of Jupiter Serapis was not spared. *A mob of fanatic Christians led on by Archibishop Theophilus, stormed and destroyed the temple,* together, it is most likely, with the greater part of its literary treasures.

"*It was at this time, that the destruction of the library was begun, and not at the taking of Alexandria by the Calif Omar, 642 A.D.* The historian Orosius, who visited the place after the destruction of the temple by the Christians, relates that he then saw only the empty shelves of the library."

June, 1870—Ætat. 29.

18. [Editorial: Frederick Douglass on the Churches]

History.—The letter referred to appears on the last page of this number of the *Iconoclast* and occupies the whole page. I thought it well to make a brief editorial comment.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 4, June, 1870

WE give much space in this issue of our paper to Mr. Frederick Douglass' letter on the Churches. It is a compact and masterly argument, and cannot fail to do much to help raise the colored race out of that abyss of superstition into which they are notoriously sunk. This protest is timely as well as powerful. Mr. Douglass has done much to hasten on the day of their emancipation from the shackles which bound their bodies. He now sees that they need emancipation from those which bind their souls. He is a true reformer, attacking the enemies of human happiness wherever they are to be found, and when driven from one stronghold, instead of folding his arms as many philanthropists do at the first temporary victory, he still pursues them, though he thus brings down upon his head the anathemas of the Church. Every observer of events knows the Church has been the great bul-

wark of slavery, while nearly all the original Abolitionists were Infidels. Its attempt, at this late day, to lay claim to the honor of freeing the black man is only one of those unprincipled usurpations and bare-faced swindles which could never be tolerated except when hallowed under the saintly robes of religion. We welcome Mr. Douglass into the ranks of independent thinkers, and hope he will devote the remainder of his life to the truly philanthropic work of eradicating superstition from among his people.

June, 1870—Ætat. 29.

19. What Has Been Gained? No. 1

History. Written in June, 1870. The manuscript of this, and also of No. 2, is preserved intact.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 4, June, 1870

IN the long struggle between scientific truth and theological error the former has steadily been gaining ground. By slow and almost imperceptible degrees the latter has been yielding and drawing in its lines upon its ultimate fastnesses of faith. The time has now come when we may take a retrospective view of the field, and note the chief advantages of the campaign.

The triumph of the Copernican theory of astronomy, as foreshadowed by Copernicus and demonstrated by Galileo, over that of Ptolemy, as taught by that astronomer in Egypt, and clung to with such desperation by the Christian Church, may be regarded the first of great importance. The Ptolemaic theory that the earth was flat and stationary, and that the sun, moon, and stars revolved around it as a center, was peculiarly adapted to support the statements respecting these things made in the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew writers were none of them either scientific or philosophical. Like everybody else at the time they wrote, they were totally ignorant of all such matters, without the

Grecian shrewdness of avoiding allusion to things of which they were so completely in the dark. Hence they often spoke of them, and always just as they appeared to them. In such a state of ignorance, the theory above referred to was the most natural and the first to develop itself. Agreeing as it did with the Bible, it was eminently satisfactory to the Christian world, and they naturally regarded with jealousy any attempt to supersede it by a new or contrary theory. Hence they resisted the Copernican theory that the earth revolves upon its axis and in an orbit, together with all the rest of the present consistent philosophy of the solar system. "What!" said they, "is the earth after all only a little fraction of the universe; is it a mere satellite revolving round the sun, smaller than several of the planets; is the sun, which the Bible tells us was created to rule the day for man's benefit, a vast world, thousands of times greater than the earth, and stationary with respect to it? This cannot be; this must not be. It would be a death blow to the Bible. This heresy must be suppressed."

We all know with what determination they carried out this purpose. The persecution of the authors of this great discovery is a fact in history which is familiar to every school girl, and a stain which can never be wiped out. But the heresy has triumphed; and to-day he would be deemed a fool, whether Christian, Jew, or Infidel, who would still aver that the earth is flat and stationary. Such is the silent power with which the truth marches on over the dead carcass of religious error.

To geology we must ascribe the second great victory. The Bible relates, in terms too unequivocal to render it worth while to dispute about their meaning, that the earth was created in six days. Geology tells us, in terms equally unequivocal, that it has been millions of ages in forming. It was, therefore, simply a question of veracity between an old book and the rocks, and again, by a sort of tacit compulsion, the world has given in its adhesion to the testimony of nature. True, the Church has hem'd and haw'd, writhed

and twisted its interpretations to adapt them to the new-found truth, but she has been compelled to admit that, whatever may be the meaning of the language of Holy Writ, geology is right anyhow.

The same facts which have overthrown the Hebrew cosmogony have also neutralized the chronology which the wise ecclesisatical genealogists have compiled from the sacred writings. As the former had assigned a ridiculous and puerile period for the antiquity of the earth, so the latter had fixed far too narrow a limit for the antiquity of man. This has been reserved for a more recent but equally signal triumph of science. Sir Charles Lyell, one of the most eminent English geologists, has demonstrated the existence of man for a period of at least 30,000 years upon the continent of Europe, and Professor Agassiz declares that he must have inhabited the peninsula of Florida for as many as ten thousand years. Both these authorities are too great and too conservative to be questioned or impugned, and so we may regard it settled that we have long been led astray by our religious authorities, to be guided at last to the truth only by the hand of science. And this is her third great triumph.

July, 1870—Ætat. 29.

20. What Has Been Gained? No. 2

History.—Written June 23, 1870. See No. 1.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 5, July, 1870

THE honor of leading the world to the truth respecting the laws and motions of the solar system, the antiquity of the earth and of man—though these are vast in their scope and in their results—is by no means all, and perhaps not the most important to which science is justly entitled to lay claim. She has fought over these great fields and won them, but she has not ceased here. She has only made them her base of operations for other and more signal victories. Indeed, these victories must come, if the first are not allowed to be given up. They appear rather as consequences of the first than as distinct triumphs. For it was not only the naked facts of the solar system that were discovered and demonstrated; it was also a law according to which these facts do, and, it seems, must take place. It was, therefore, in physics that the new truth was to make itself known. Before the dawn of scientific investigation, men could see in the movements of the heavenly bodies only a succession of facts. Things were moving, and they could not imagine that this could be unless somebody was moving them. Hence they peopled the spaces with gods, demons, and genii. Everything was a miracle. Even the great Kepler saw the deity rolling

the shining spheres along with a personal hand. Newton resolved their movements into a few mechanical principles, but there were still irregularities, and these he supposed the deity to produce to gratify some unknown caprice. It was left for Laplace to demonstrate that even these, down to the minutest perturbation or aberration, are all subject to the one unvarying law of attraction.

It is this idea of law pervading the universe that has constituted the real weapon of all material progress; for a law is something upon which we can depend and base our calculations. And it is a remarkable feature that it was not till these great natural principles had been settled that anything of any note was ever done in the way of subsidizing nature, and making her the servant instead of the autocrat of the human race. Before that time there were no mills, no factories, no machine shops, to say nothing of steam and electrical applications. Everything that was made must be wrought out by the slow toil of the hands. Nor is it difficult to see the natural connection of these facts. For as long as no law was recognized, but only the free, intelligent will of some being or beings who controlled the universe, there could be no assurance that any mechanical contrivance would long serve the purpose for which it was made. Who could tell but that the next morning after it was completed Deity might change his mind and refuse to impel it. Besides, it was regarded as sacrilege to employ the bounteous power of God for the sordid ends of human gain. Hence, they were not used. But science is banishing these phantoms and demons, not only from earth, but from existence. In short, it has already, for the intelligent world, disenchanted the universe, and left it free for man to possess, use, and enjoy. There are no longer any invisible gods or goddesses, great or small, to produce nothing, but only consume the products of his toil.

This discovery that we are under a reign of law, instead of the special objects of divine caprice, is in reality the foundation and the necessary prerequisite of all our modern

material civilization. Recognizing reliable principles, we have proceeded to study and apply them, instead of waiting, Micawber-like, forever for God to turn something up to our advantage. We find, first, that we can do it, and second, that unless we do do it, it will never be done.

There is still another scientific triumph which is as great for the moral world as those we have alluded to are for the physical world. It is one of those great incidental blessings which, though wholly unexpected, often so copiously flow from the recognition of a great truth. The very founders of science little thought there lay hidden within it the germs of the highest and purest morality. Yet such is the fact, and men are just beginning to recognize that through science alone is the very evil of the world to be removed. We have not space to elaborate this idea, but we appeal to facts. All will admit that charity is the highest moral virtue. Science is the only foundation for that broad and unlimited charity, which, if ever attained, will prove itself a redemption of the world. Religion, philosophy, law, government, all have failed utterly to accomplish this result. Science so far has proved a grand success. To it, and to it alone, can we attribute that great change in the treatment which man receives at the hands of his fellow-man, which has taken place within the last two centuries. Where now is the persecution, the proscription, the torture, which men were wont to inflict for opinion's sake? They are gone, vanished as all evil will vanish under the rays of truth. And the tone of public opinion, religious and political, is obviously becoming daily modified and softened as the threats of future torment for religious, and of wholesale hanging for political opinions, give place to respect, charity, and humanity.

That these are the results of science is clear, for it lifts us out of the narrow grooves of bigotry and fanaticism, and enables us to comprehend the human race as a part of the vast universe of which all men are but the children, and therefore brothers.

July, 1870—Ætat. 29.

21. The Bible vs. Slavery

History.—Written March 31, 1870. It was reserved for a needed occasion, as one of the things that would keep.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 5, July, 1870

THERE have been many attempts to uphold slavery from a Biblical standpoint, and there have also been many attempts to overthrow it from the same standpoint. The latter view has been maintained by triumphantly pointing to the provision in the Hebrew laws for a jubilee, in which the slaves were required to be liberated every fifty years. We believe the idea almost universally prevails that this was unconditionally the case. A few, doubtless, do know better, but by a little skilful *suppressio veri*, they manage to keep the laity in ignorance. The truth is that this humane provision applied only to Hebrews, their own countrymen. Towards each other they were very just, and required many good things to be observed, very much as, during the reign of African slavery, *white men* were protected by the law and permitted to maintain the dignity of freemen. But toward the gentile, the stranger that sojourned in their land (which land, by the way, they had wrested from these same strangers by armed force), the case was quite different, and may

be aptly compared with the case of the negro in this country. There it was, "you must not harm a *Jew*, but treat a *gentile* as you please." Here it was, "you must not harm a *white man*, but treat a *negro* as you please."

In order that our readers may not be ignorant upon this point, we quote the 44th, 45th, and 46th verses of the 25th chapter of Leviticus: "Both thy *bond-men* and thy *bond-maids*, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye *buy bond-men* and *bond-maids*. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye *buy*, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your *possession;* and ye shall take them as an *inheritance for your children* after you, to *inherit* them for a *possession;* and they shall be your *bond-men forever;* but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." If there is any jubilee in this, then we fail to see where it comes in.

August, 1870—Ætat. 29.

22. Christianity and Civilization

History.—Written July 31, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 6, August, 1870

IT is the common boast that Christianity is the great promoter of civilization. The chief argument employed to demonstrate this is, that the highest civilization has always been found in those countries where Christianity has prevailed. In other words, say they, Christianity has always accompanied advanced civilization, and therefore it is the cause of it.

Both the premises and therefore the conclusion also of this argument are false. For, in the first place, Christianity has not always been the concomitant of the highest civilization; and in the second place, if it had, it would not at all follow of necessity that it was the cause of it.

With regard to the first point, it must be remembered that Christianity is of comparatively recent date. There had been many great civilizations in many different countries long before it had an existence. If they were less brilliant than that of to-day, it was only because man had not had so long to learn how to improve his condition. If they were less enduring, it was because the three great conservators of our civilization—steam, electricity, and printing—were not yet discovered. And surely their

discovery cannot be ascribed to Christianity. But this is not all. The great ideal civilization of China aside, there existed at the advent of Christianity a civilization which will ever continue to be the glory of the human race—the civilization of Greece and Rome. And this was what an arrogant Christendom is pleased to style a *pagan age*. And yet, in all the departments of art, literature, philosophy, and statesmanship, the nineteenth century is compelled to humbly bow and acknowledge its inferiority. But when Christianity arose and assumed control of nations, this mighty and resplendent civilization crumbled away and fell to ruins. Compare, for a moment, the golden age of Pericles or Augustus with the long and dreary period which followed the substitution of Christian for pagan rule, and which historians are wont to call the Dark Ages. How would the argument above mentioned apply to that period? It would prove directly the reverse of what is claimed when applied to this.

But with regard to the second point, the fact that civilization and Christianity are often found together is no more a proof that the latter is the cause of the former than that the former is of the latter. In point of fact neither is true. The co-existence of these institutions is a matter wholly fortuitous. It might as well have been Mohammedanism as Christianity; and had that been the case, the votaries of that faith would have doubtless ascribed their civilization to it. Indeed, Gibbon has shown that the mere fate of a single battle is what has decided that very question—whether Europe should be Christian or Mohammedan. Had Charles Martel been defeated on the plains of France, Christianity would have been driven from Europe, and might never have reached America. And judging from the wars and persecutions of Christianity, it is not probable that it would have been any the worse for civilization. The world thinks it must have its religion, and it makes little difference what it is. The only way to diminish its evil is to diminish its quantity. Lastly, so far from Christianity

being the patron of progress, it is notoriously true that the minds upon which all civilization has depended have, in all countries and ages, been either avowed or tacit dissenters from its leading doctrines. Our civilization depends wholly upon the discovery and application of a few profound scientific and philosophical principles, thought out by a few great minds who hold the shallow babble of priests in utter contempt, and have no time to dabble in theology.

August, 1870—Ætat. 29.

23. Religion and Progress

History.—Written in August, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 6, August, 1870

A CRITICAL historical investigation will, we think, confirm the statement made by Lecky in his *History of European Morals*—that as clerical influence strengthens, civilization proportionally declines, and *vice versa*. The restoration of learning in Europe marks the dawn of freethought, and the history of the growth of European civilization is the history of the gradual but certain decline of the power of the Church. We date the history of modern scepticism from the time of Abelard, when Christendom, convinced that nothing was to be gained in the attempt to wrest from the Mohammedans any portion of their territory, its murderous passion—religious hate—cooled by repeated defeat, had entered into commercial, if not amicable relations with Mohammedan nations. This intercourse, conjoined to the influence of the Arabian science and philosophy, which was itself calculated to incite rational investigation, had doubtless much effect upon the religious sentiments of Europe. Indeed, Lecky himself considers the Mohammedan schools of science one of the chief agencies "in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom."

The history of Europe during the preceding centuries, from the establishment of Christianity, with the exception of that of the brilliant civilization in Mohammedan Spain, was a history of priestly ignorance, superstition, and barbarity. Says Gibbon, writing of the decay of taste and genius in eastern Europe, under Christian rule: "In the revolution of ten centuries not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea had been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became, in their turn, the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation." The arts, sciences, philosophy, and even the language of civilized "paganism," were either forgotten, almost obliterated, or entirely lost.

The gradual extension of freethought and secular pursuits, and consequent growth of civilization, are matters of historical record; yet such had been the deadly influence of an unquestioned ecclesiasticism, that even after the power of the Church had been broken by mighty divisions, it has required centuries to regain that which had been lost while Christianity held undisputed sway. And even now, in those countries in which a single sect maintains the power, and where freethought is comparatively unknown, the baleful influence of clerical domination is frightfully apparent. Rome, once the proud center of a resplendent civilization, now abjectly crouches at the feet of a Christian pontiff, while the genius of empire and civilization, ever accompanying mental liberty, is enshrined in more "infidel" France, Germany, England, and America.

After combatting innovation and improvement step by step, and offering every impediment in its power to the reformer, the Christian priesthood, Catholic and Protestant, though dissenting on other points, unite *en masse* in claiming the civilization of to-day to be the result of their dogmas! Reform has ever been the enemy of priestcraft, and the more closely we scan history, the more clearly it is revealed that the great leaders in all movements towards the ameliora-

tion of the condition of the race in science, philosophy, or invention, have either openly opposed, secretly detested, or entirely ignored the popular religious opinions of their times. "Experience," says Bacon, "demonstrates how learned men have been arch heretics, and how learned times have been inclined to Atheism." We think history will bear out the assertion that those periods of time which exhibit a higher civilization than those which preceded or followed them, have always been characterized by comparative exemption from ecclesiastical restraint. Freedom is essential to progress, and theological doctrines being restrictive of freedom, mentally, could not be otherwise than conservative or retrogressive in their influence.

A religion that holds forth a bundle of dogmas, and requires an implicit subscription to them on pain of future damnation; that marks out the limit of human thought, and declares "thus far shalt thou go and no farther"; that sets up, as an infallible standard and guide to action, the writings of men who lived centuries ago; that devotes its attention not to the encouragement of temporal employments, but to the contemplation of a future life, is one of the greatest enemies of human progress, and it should be the effort of every good man feeling the force of this fact to labor for the restriction of its deadly influence.

24. The Polygamy Discussion

History.—Written August 28, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 7, September, 1870

THE so-called great discussion of the question whether the Bible sanctions polygamy constitutes one of the events of the last month. Mr. Cullom's bill called out Mr. Hooper's speech, which in turn called out Dr. Newman's Washington sermon. This led to a sort of irresponsible, unofficial invitation, in a neutral Salt Lake City newspaper, for him to repeat it in the Mormon Tabernacle. The prurient zeal of our learned divine magnified this into a veritable challenge to discuss the question with the great Mormon Pontiff himself, and he set out on a Quixotic journey across the continent for this purpose.

On his arrival the lion declined to be bearded, and the reverend doctor set about to force him into the false position before the country of trying to back out. Knowing that everything he said would be believed throughout the country, the adroit Brigham turned him over to a lesser light, Prof. Orson Pratt, with whom, after much equivocation about time and terms, in which the doctor, with the unconcealed anxiety of a school-boy, yielded point after point rather than lose his opportunity, he was at last enabled to hold a three days' discussion in the Old Taber-

nacle. The arguments themselves, as reported here, are really not worth mentioning. Elder Pratt certainly took it very calmly, and from a scripture point of view clearly established his side of the question by showing, what everybody already knew, that most of the great and good of the patriarchs practised polygamy without rebuke, and that the new dispensation was silent on the subject, as it is upon slavery and all other real evils.

Dr. Newman displayed some philological profundity, in which, however, the Elder, though in an unostentatious manner, clearly proved himself his equal; indulged in his usual high-keyed grandiloquence, which his opponent scrupulously avoided, as if to evince his contempt of it, and concluded by iterating in a pompous style the unestablished charge that all polygamists are committers of adultery. The only text he pretended to advance against polygamy was the 18th verse of the 18th chapter of Leviticus, which reads thus: "Neither shalt thou take a wife to *her sister*," etc., but which the learned Doctor claimed had been translated by some commentators to read, "Neither shalt thou take a wife to *another*." Pratt showed that the first reading was as correct as the last, but that while neither is correct, the Hebrew did not warrant the founding of a monogamic doctrine upon that text, as, indeed, the context would convince any candid mind. To this flimsy straw the Doctor clung, claiming it to be great central law, and declaring, "I will try every passage by this law." His whole effort, windy and verbose as it was, was, as an argument, a complete and unmitigated failure.

The effect of the whole transaction will be bad. It will be bad for the cause, since it opens the subject up for discussion from a theological standpoint, which cannot but be favorable to polygamy; bad for theology, since it will bring it into deserved contempt before all rational men; bad for the Mormons, since it may tend to kindle the insane fires of persecution; and bad for the zealous knight who strained himself so hard to consummate it, since it has exposed his

real imbecility, and what is worse, his overweening self-confidence and self-conceit.

The only good it can possibly do will be to show the country that the Mormons, base and barbarous as they have been misrepresented to be, are after all human beings, having most of the qualities that adorn or afflict the race, and do not differ in any material respect from ourselves. They certainly displayed great liberality in accommodating the Doctor with a place to blow off his long-pent-up gas and gratify his inordinate desire to acquire notoriety as a crusader against "the twin relic." The condition once proposed to be imposed, that the exponent of Mormonism should be allowed to expound from the National M. E. Church of Washington, seems to have been withdrawn as altogether too shocking to the feelings of that civilized congregation and pastor. Imagine, just once, the chaplain of the United States Senate, and perhaps the President of the United States, sitting in that superb edifice under the droppings of Mormon preaching! Preposterous! Yet the Tabernacle was freely offered and accepted. How great is Christian charity!

It need scarcely be added, as a commentary on this ridiculous farce, that any attempt to attack or overthrow a great social or political evil by argument from the Bible always must and always will prove utterly abortive. It is going to the very authority which is perpetuating it, long after the enlightened judgment of mankind has condemned it, to find evidence to sustain that judgment against that authority itself. It is absurd. The only authorities at all worth citing against polygamy, or any other evil, are the authorities of reason and science. If we could but appeal to these, and throw away the old books which only reflect the ignorance and error of the dark, unscientific ages in which they were written, we might make some progress in the solution of these great problems and the elimination of the obstacles which lie in the way of man's happiness and welfare. X.

November 1, 1870—Ætat. 29.

25. Revealed Religion and Human Progress

History.—Written Sept. 11 and 13, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 8, November 1, 1870

WE have frequently taken pains to show in our columns that the thing which passes for religion in our day is not all that it is claimed to be. We have endeavored to make three points clear, viz.:—1st. That it is totally distinct from true morality; that to be good it is not at all necessary to be religious. 2d. That the truly great of all ages have either totally ignored or emphatically repudiated it; and—3d. That as professed to be embodied in Christianity, it has no claim to be regarded as in the least conducive to our high state of civilization.

We propose now to go farther. We do not hesitate to affirm that not only is all this true, but that the influence of what is known as Revelation has always been exerted, and is still being exerted directly in opposition to the progress of mankind. And this opposition is proportionally pernicious as we remove farther from the age in which this pretended revelation originated.

This can be satisfactorily demonstrated in two ways; by deductive and inductive reasoning—by an appeal either

to logic or to experience. The following is the *a priori* proof.

No matter by whom given, this law was given to man many ages ago, when he was in an ignorant and uncivilized condition. It bears every mark of having been adapted to that condition. Human morals were then low, and it is no more true than it is natural that the moral tone of the writings then bequeathed to man should be correspondingly low. This must be granted, as we shall hereafter show by reference to passages from the Bible itself. Once granted what follows? Here is a book containing a mass of moral teachings which are behind the age; precepts which long and repeated trial has proved not to be adapted to our times, and to be opposed to human advancement; and yet this book is implicitly believed by a majority of the people to have been expressly dictated by God himself, for man's guidance through all time. As such it must be obeyed, whatsoever the immediate result, or however apparent it may become that that result is injurious. It is thus that this pretended revelation is resisting the current of struggling humanity as it rushes on towards the goal of social perfection.

But one of the premises of this argument may be disputed by those who accept the teaching of this professed inspiration. They may deny that it contains any doctrines whose effects, if followed, would be prejudicial to the interests of mankind, or opposed to human progress. An examination of this premise will involve the proof of our original proposition by the second method, as was promised at the outset. We may begin this examination with the charge, hereafter to be sustained, that this pseudo-revelation has been both the mother and the nurse of the chief evils of human society. And we may here premise that nearly all the unhappiness and misery of the world is caused by the prevalence of certain great, pernicious, and iniquitous institutions, customs, laws, and social or political systems, based upon correspondingly prevalent popular errors.

Let us begin with slavery as perhaps the worst system of iniquity ever tolerated by man. We not only find it prevailing in its worst form among the patriarchs of the Old Testament, but we also find it expressly enjoined and commanded in the law of Moses, in the most unlimited sense and the most unqualified language. (Leviticus xxv., 44–6.) And every American knows with what zeal and success the advocates of that institution in this country appealed to the sacred page against the spontaneous indignation of an enlightened public judgment. The Bible was the "bulwark of slavery" both in the Old and New Testaments.

Another of the great evils of the world has been the oppression of despotic governments. And yet this is not only sanctioned by the Bible but expressly declared a divine ordinance. "The powers that be are ordained of God." Who shall say how much mankind has suffered, which it would never have suffered had not this fatal sentence been found in the sacred writings? How long has the progress of the world been held back in Europe by kings and potentates claiming tenure by "divine right?"

Religious war has been another great obstacle to man's advancement. Nearly every war since those of Cæsar has been of this character. As Christianity acquired power it sought to extend its sway and convert the rest of the nations to its faith. The horrible effects of this system can only be appreciated by a perusal of the history of these events. Not to speak of the great Crusades, take the Thirty Year's War as an illustration, in which, says the historian, "more than ten millions of human beings were sacrificed." Such scenes have marked every period of Christian supremacy. Abundance of authority, both of law and precedent, is found for these wars in the Bible. The Hebrew conquest of Canaan affords examples of cruelty and slaughter which no imitator of Joshua has ever had the heart to equal, and this general only obeyed the commands of his superior, Jehovah. And Christ, whom his followers call the "Prince

of Peace," has declared (Matt. x., 34) "I came not to send peace, but a sword," and (Luke vii., 49) "I am come to send fire on the earth."

But the limits of our sheet forbid an extended illustration of the many institutions and practices opposed to human progress which the accepted religious authority of Christendom enjoins, sanctions, or justifies, and which have been only kept up as they have because this is so. We shall be compelled therefore to content ourselves with little more than the bare enumeration of a few others which we conceive clearly to come under this category.

Witchcraft, which everybody now considers a foolish superstition, but which possesses a bloody and terrible history, is expressly recognized in the Bible and the death penalty enacted as a punishment of witches by the law of Moses (Exodus xxii, 18), "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Many millions of innocent human beings have suffered the extreme penalty of this statute. Computations of the number of victims of witchcraft have been made, the most reliable of which place it between nine and ten millions.

Capital punishment is now regarded as a great moral wrong by all humanitarians, and would doubtless have long since vanished from among men but for the command, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed."

The terrible evil of intemperance finds much consolation in Scripture and very little condemnation.

Very strong arguments for polygamy and concubinage can be deduced from the lives of the most holy of the patriarchs, while St. Paul expresses a strong predilection for the celibate condition. Both these facts have done harm, as Mormon tabernacles on the one hand and Catholic nunneries on the other clearly proclaim. The most religious peoples of the Old World are being turned into gangs of trained mendicants as the natural result of the strong injunctions in the Bible to give alms. And thus it is that great social evils

are born and nursed until they threaten the very foundations of society and stop the wheels of progress. The most prolific source of these social diseases in the world is this same pretended book of Revelation.

November 1, 1870—Ætat. 29.

26. The New Faith

History.—Written Oct. 24 and 25, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 8, November 1, 1870

Mr. Editor: Has it occurred to you that the civilized world is to-day in the very act of changing its faith; that a new religion is already crowding out Christianity? Nothing seems to me clearer. Men seldom discover such facts till they can look back at them. Why do they not learn to see them while in process of accomplishment? What are the signs of the times to-day? I go to church in the great sanctuaries of Christendom and I behold a display of wealth in frescoed walls and fine architecture, but I find them only slimly filled with indifferent people. Unless it be where some notable, some great public man is accustomed to attend church, an array of empty seats is sure to greet me, which would be considered as an evidence of lingering death to any but a Christian cause. And those who are there come evidently from no motive of zeal or devotion. If I may judge from my own neighbors I may safely say that there are but three incentives to church going, namely: first, respectability, or obedience to custom or fashion; second, display, to show their fine clothes; third, gossip, to see who is there and what they have on, for the purpose of telling about it. The sermons one hears correspond with

the interest manifested in them. One does not even need to know the text to know what will be said. These are some of the many manifest indications of the moribund state of the present religion. Nothing is left of it but the wealth it hoarded in the days of its prosperity. We may well call it Ichabod, for its glory has departed.

But what is to take its place?

I answer without a moment's hesitation—*Spiritualism.* And when I say this I say it with all the consideration which so positive an assertion demands. I say it without the least feeling *pro* or *con*, but actuated solely by the truth as it is made manifest to my reason. It is not that I fear it, for it cannot be worse than the effete theology, whose place it is to take. Neither do I hope it, for if I were to hope, I would hope that the world might be spared another reign of religion before the dawn of that era so certain to come, when the good, the happiness, and the intellectual and moral improvement of mankind shall absorb all human energy and devotion. But I see that it is not yet ripe for this change. It is not ready to descend to the sober realities of this life, and exhaust its efforts in the direction of its amelioration. It is evident now that poor suffering humanity must go on for another cycle in its misery; that its mind and body must continue on through another long era in something like its present state of neglect and imperfection, while the imagination soars amid visions of future existence; that reason must for another great period bow to the sceptre of faith; that human desire must long remain more powerful than evidence or demonstration. Not that I would deny man immortality, but it is clear that if he is immortal there could be at least nothing to lose if not much to gain by perfecting the present existence.

But what are the evidences that the religion of spiritualism is the coming faith?

They are abundant. No contrast can be greater than that between the apathy of Christianity and the interest for Spiritualism. The lecture halls and lyceums of the Spirit-

ualists are filled to overflowing, and thousands of the Orthodox laity and clergy are rallying to the new creed. Already, with the genuine religious spirit, they are counting their proselytes and using every effort, without regard to dignity or even decency, to bring them into their fold. The age is ripe for this kind of a harvest. Intent on living forever, a dogma of the old theology, which, if not demonstrable is not at least refutable, yet tired of the illogical doctrines of atonement, conversion, trinity, election, sanctification, etc., they rush with eagerness into the arms of a faith, which, while it ignores the latter is pre-eminently founded upon the former.

These, Mr. Editor, are some of the influences which are at work to-day to usher in the new religion; the religion of Spiritualism. X.

November 1, 1870—Ætat. 29.

27. What Is the Positive Philosophy?

History.—Written and extract made in October, 1870. I had been reading Mill's little book at that time and had already become impressed with Comte's method.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 8, November 1, 1870

MUCH is said of late concerning the new school of philosophy which is called Positive, yet the exact character of that philosophy is, we apprehend, very vaguely and indefinitely understood by the masses of the people. That it is anti-theological in its tendency all who know aught of it are aware, but further than this no one who has not taken special pains to read its history and the treatises of its most celebrated expounders can at this time form any correct idea, owing to the pains which the theological world is taking to cast odium and reproach upon it. In this state of things any light is welcome to the inquiring spirit of the age, and we offer, with this view, a few brief extracts from the little work of Mr. John Stuart Mill, entitled *Auguste Comte and Positivism.* We have taken care to make them in such a manner as to render the exposition at once short, clear, and reliable, and to open up the whole subject as completely as possible.

We would, however, recommend our readers to obtain this valuable little work and read it for themselves.

"The fundamental doctrine of a true philosophy, according to M. Comte, and the character by which he defines Positive Philosophy, is the following: We have no knowledge of anything but Phenomena, and our knowledge of phenomena is relative, not absolute. We know not the essence, nor the real mode of production, of any fact, but only its relations to other facts in the way of succession or similitude. These relations are constant; that is, always the same in the same circumstances. The constant resemblances which link phenomena together, and the constant sequences which unite them as antecedent and consequent, are termed their laws. The laws of phenomena are all we know respecting them. Their essential nature and their ultimate causes, either efficient or final, are unknown and inscrutable to us.

"The modes of philosophizing which, according to him, dispute ascendancy with the Positive, are two in number, both of them anterior to it in date: the Theological and the Metaphysical. The Theological, which is the original and spontaneous form of thought, regards the facts of the universe as governed not by invariable laws of sequence, but by single and direct volitions, real or imaginary, possessed of life and intelligence. In the infantile state of reason and experience, individual objects are looked upon as animated. The next step is the conception of invisible beings, each of whom superintends and governs an entire class of objects or events. The last merges this multitude of divinities in a single God, who made the whole universe in the beginning, and guides and carries on its phenomena by his continued action, or as others think, only modifies them from time to time by special interferences.

"The mode of thought which M. Comte terms Metaphysical accounts for phenomena by ascribing them, not to volitions either sublunary or celestial, but to realized abstractions. In this stage it is no longer a god that causes

and directs each of the various agencies of nature; it is a power, or a force, or an occult quality, considered as real existences, inherent in but distinct from the concrete bodies in which they reside, and which they, in a manner, animate. Instead of Dryads presiding over trees, producing and regulating their phenomena, every plant or animal has now a Vegetative Soul. At a later period the Vegetative Soul has become a Plastic Force, and still later a Vital Principle. Objects now do all that they do because it is their Essence to do so, or by reason of an inherent virtue.

"This general theorem is completed by the addition that the theological mode of thought has three stages: Fetishism, Polytheism, and Monotheism; the successive transitions being prepared, and indeed caused, by the gradual uprising of the two rival modes of thought, the metaphysical and the positive, and in their turn preparing the way for the ascendancy of these, first and temporarily of the metaphysical, finally of the positive.

"The [Positive] doctrine condemns all theological explanations, and replaces them, or thinks them destined to be replaced, by theories which take no account of anything but an ascertained order of phenomena. It is inferred that if this change were completely accomplished, mankind would cease to refer the constitution of Nature to an intelligent will, or to believe at all in a Creator and Supreme Governor of the world.

"Positive Philosophy maintains that within the existing order of the universe, or rather of the part of it known to us, the direct determining cause of every phenomenon is not supernatural but natural. Whoever regards all events as parts of a constant order, each one being the invariable consequent of some antecedent condition or combination of conditions, accepts fully the Positive mode of thought."

November 15, 1870—Ætat. 29.

28. Religious Influence of Science

History.—Preliminary paragraph written and selection copied from Spencer's *Education* in November, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 9, November 15, 1870

THE following views of Herbert Spencer, taken from his volume on Education, with respect to the religious influence of Science, will be admitted to be powerful and convincing. The religion of which he speaks is not "*the superstitions that pass under the name of religion,*" and for anything here indicated it may be as John Stuart Mill says of Auguste Comte's, "a religion without a God." It is the religion of Science, of Nature, of Truth:

"Lastly we have to assert—and the assertion will, we doubt not, cause extreme surprise—that the discipline of science is superior to that of our ordinary education, because of the *religious* culture that it gives. Of course we do not here use the words scientific and religious in their ordinary limited acceptations; but in their widest and highest acceptations. Doubtless, to the superstitions that pass under the name of religion, science is antagonistic; but not to the essential religion which these superstitions merely hide. Doubtless, too, in much of the science that is

current, there is a pervading spirit of irreligion; but not in that true science which has passed beyond the superficial into the profound.

"True science and true religion [says Professor Huxley, at the close of a recent course of lectures] are twin-sisters, and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death of both. Science prospers exactly in proportion as it is religious; and religion flourishes in exact proportion to the scientific depth and firmness of its basis. The great deeds of philosophers have been less the fruit of their intellect than of the direction of that intellect by an eminently religious tone of mind. Truth has yielded herself rather to their patience, their love, their single-heartedness, and their self-denial, than to their logical acumen.

"So far from science being irreligious, as many think, it is the neglect of science that is irreligious—it is the refusal to study the surrounding creation that is irreligious. Take an humble simile. Suppose a writer were daily saluted with praises couched in superlative language. Suppose the wisdom, the grandeur, the beauty of his works, were the constant topics of the eulogies addressed to him. Suppose those who unceasingly uttered these eulogies on his works were content with looking at the outsides of them; and had never opened them, much less tried to understand them. What value should we put upon their praises? What should we think of their sincerity? Yet, comparing small things to great, such is the conduct of mankind in general, in reference to the Universe and its Cause. Nay, it is worse. Not only do they pass by without study, these things which they daily proclaim to be so wonderful; but very frequently they condemn as mere triflers those who give time to the observation of Nature—they actually scorn those who show any active interest in these marvels. We repeat, then, that not science, but the neglect of science, is irreligious. Devotion to science is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied; and by implication in their Cause. It is not a mere lip-homage, but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect, but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought, and labor.

"Nor is it thus only that true science is essentially religious. It is religious too, inasmuch as it generates a profound respect for, and an implicit faith in, those uniform laws which underlie all things. By accumulated experiences the man of science acquires a thorough belief in the unchanging relations of phenomena—in the invariable connection of cause and consequence—in the necessity of good or evil results. Instead of the rewards and punishments of traditional belief, which men vaguely hope they may gain, or escape, spite of their disobedience, he finds that there are rewards and punishments in the ordained constitution of things, and that the evil results of disobedience are inevitable. He sees that the laws to which we must submit are not only inexorable but beneficent. He sees that in virtue of these laws, the process of things is ever towards a greater perfection and a higher happiness. Hence he is led constantly to insist on these laws, and is indignant when men disregard them. And thus does he, by asserting the eternal principles of things and the necessity of conforming to them, prove himself intrinsically religious

"To all which add the further religious aspect of science, that it alone can give us true conceptions of ourselves and our relation to the mysteries of existence. At the same time that it shows us all which can be known, it shows us the limits beyond which we can know nothing. Not by dogmatic assertion does it teach the impossibility of comprehending the ultimate cause of things; but it leads us clearly to recognize this impossibility by bringing us in every direction to boundaries we cannot cross. It realizes to us in a way which nothing else can, the littleness of human intelligence in the face of that which transcends human intelligence. While towards the traditions and authorities of men its attitude may be proud, before the impenetrable veil which hides the Absolute its attitude is humble—a true pride and a true humility. Only the sincere man of science (and by this title we do not mean the mere calculator of distances, or analyser of compounds, or labeller

of species; but him who through lower truths seeks higher, and eventually the highest)—only the genuine man of science, we say, can truly know how utterly beyond, not only human knowledge but human conception, is the Universal Power of which Nature, and Life, and Thought are manifestations.

"We conclude, then, that for discipline, as well as for guidance, science is of chiefest value. In all its effects, learning the meanings of things, is better than learning the meanings of words. Whether for intellectual, moral, or religious training, the study of surrounding phenomena is immensely superior to the study of grammars and lexicons."

29. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 1] Creation

History.—This was the first of a series of communications denominated "Doctrinal Sketches." They were quasi-serious, but in reality veiled satires. It was perhaps my first attempt to write humor. Written Nov. 1 and 6, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 9, November 15, 1870.

Mr. Editor: You asked me to write a series of satires on the Doctrines of the Theology of the Nineteenth Century. This I must decline for many reasons: for in the first place I should prove a very indifferent successor of Juvenal or Perseus, and I have not yet learned the art of subsidizing my orthography and syntax, as is the custom of modern satirists.

Fortunately, however, the subject you have assigned me can better be treated seriously. I think no assistance that wit or humor could render would add to the ludicrousness of these doctrines when stated in a plain, truthful, and historical way. Believing this, and with your permission, I will endeavor to present in this manner a few statements of the leading doctrines of the present theological system, for

insertion from month to month in the ICONOCLAST; taking them up in such order as I deem best calculated to render them intelligible. That order will have to be, at first at least, chronological, and I shall be obliged to begin with the "beginning" and explain the

CREATION

It will be observed that some things, as in all historical narratives, must be taken for granted, while others must be left unaccounted for. For though, "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, "we are still ignorant how *God* could have been created or could have existed before the "beginning;" and yet we must take it for granted that such was the case, since he evidently did not create himself simultaneously with "the heavens and the earth."

"The heavens and the earth" were created out of nothing. This is the primary sense of the word *create*. The historian Moses makes no mention of the previous existence of anything, neither does he tell us that the universe was an emanation from God. It must, therefore, have been created from nothing.

Differing from all other Bibles, as those of India, China, Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, whose authors were philosophers, and therefore incapable of conceiving this notion, and which all, without exception, discard creation and make the universe the result of a process of evolution from the Supreme Being, in whom all things were conceived to have always been contained, the Jewish Bible, whose author was no philosopher but only a historian, employs the term creation in its true and original sense: the absolute bringing into existence of what previously had no existence. The completion of this work required six days. The first day's work was the creation of light. What this light was we are of course ignorant, and the time when He took it away from us is nowhere stated, though He must have done so at an early period, since all the light we have ever had since

human history began is that of the sun (of which all artificial light is only a latent form), and the sun was not created till the fourth day.

The second day was devoted to the creation of a firmament. This firmament was placed between the waters, dividing those which were under from those which were above it. We must conclude, therefore, that under the earth (which is the lowest part of the firmament) there is an abyss of water, and also that above the stars there is another expanse of water, doubtless that which we see so blue and incorrectly term the "sky." The firmament He called heaven, and since the good go to heaven when they die it is possible that they may not rise much above the terrestial stratum.

The third day was consumed in fixing up the physical map of the *world, i.e.* Assyria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, and getting the vegetable kingdom started. Having no sun yet we are of course ignorant of the substitute employed for sunshine, which modern biologists and chemists tell us is so indispensable to the existence of plants.

It was not till the fourth day that God saw the necessity of having lights in the firmament. The historian states the purposes for which these lights were required to be the following:

First. "To divide the day from the night."

Second. "For signs."

Third. "For seasons."

Fourth. "For days and years."

Fifth. For "lights to give light upon the earth."

It will be observed that these objects all refer to the condition of the earth, and therefore all those who have indulged the irreverent belief that these lights (the sun, moon, and stars) were created with a view to any subjective or independent purpose of their own must be wholly mistaken.

So "God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night; He made the

stars also, and set them in the firmament *to give light upon the earth.*" This ended His fourth day's work. What became of the original light created on the first day is not stated.

On the fifth day he produced all the animal kingdom except man, if indeed man can be classed among animals.

The sixth and last day was crowned with the creation of man, whom he created in his own image—probably the same shape—and gave him dominion over everything He had made. As all the animals had been created of both sexes, so was man. The process by which woman was created is detailed in the second chapter of Genesis. He caused Adam, the man He had made, to fall into a deep sleep, and then took out one of his ribs and "made a woman." Moses has not informed us whether this was the process by which the female of all species of animals was produced.

There are three mysteries enveloping this account which it would be sacrilege to hope ever to see solved:

First. The process of making a rib into a woman.

Second. The necessity for any such proceeding—as if it were more difficult to make a woman than a man.

Third. Why the women of our day do not have more ribs than men.

My next sketch will be an account of *the Fall of Man.*

30. The Rising School

History.—Written Nov. 16–18, 1870. It is as fair a statement of the character of scientific philosophy as I could write to-day. I was steeped in the old philosophy, and if education could have influenced me I should have been a follower of Sir Wm. Hamilton. But I was wholly unsatisfied with it, and fairly panting for a fresh breath of science.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 10, December 1, 1870.

THE age of speculation has gone by. The age of investigation has begun. The philosophies of the past have at last culminated in a system which, while it still retains the name philosophy, is in truth, science. The Ionian and the Eleatic schools of philosophy, the great Platonic and Peripatetic schemes, the religio-philosophical scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and the grand metaphysical systems of modern Europe, have all passed away, and the myriad volumes of their profound elaboration lie moulding upon the shelves of our libraries. Thales and Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle, Aquinas and Descartes, have all in turn shed their lustre upon the world, and left to it monuments which stand as true representatives of the condition of the human mind at the respective epochs in which they figured.

But they are monuments only. They are no longer finger-posts. They are no longer authority. All these schools of philosophers are extinct. There is none to revive them —none to mourn their loss. The profound disquisitions of Sir William Hamilton must be regarded as their last triumph for all time; while the vigorous but unsuccessful effort of Cousin to extract from their vast accumulations an eclecticism adequate to the demands of the Nineteenth Century affords ample proof that the world has outstripped them in its march and left them behind it to take their places among the relics of antiquity.

The rising school of philosophy, as distinguished from practical scientific labor, and the one which may be said to have already succeeded the French, German, and Scottish schools of metaphysics, is that which for want of a better name is styled the Positive. Deriving its principles from the teachings of Bacon, Galileo, Newton, Franklin, and Humboldt, it had an illustrious founder in Auguste Comte, and is to-day illuminated and adorned by the intellects of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Darwin, Buckle, and Lyell labored in its ranks, as do now Huxley, Tyndall, and a great number of other distinguished scientists and thinkers in Europe and America. We have already laid before our readers the fundamental principles of this new school of philosophy, as laid down by its founder, and its chief exponents. It remains to add, that besides being scientific in its methods and rational in its doctrines, it is eminently practical in its objects and its results.

Its aims are all utilitarian, and its principles humanitarian. It is neither dogmatic nor visionary, but liberal and exact. Taking nature as its only source of information, and the phenomena of the universe as the material for its deductions, it seeks in the observation of their uniformities in the present, to trace all things back to their true origin in the past, and calculate their true destiny in the future.

In this two-fold view it passes in review all the systems and institutions of man upon the earth; follows them back

to their natural source in his remote history, and predicts with all necessary certainty their ultimate collapse or triumph. Premising a reign of law as absolute and certain over the affairs of men and nations as over the movements of the celestial spheres, the new philosophy grapples as successfully with the questions of human society, law, government, morals, and religion as with those of astronomy, chemistry, or physics. To reform humanity is the grand object of this system. Its expounders realize their power, by this method, of accomplishing this object; and if his followers do not all avow it as openly and as repeatedly as Comte did, they certainly practice it since his death with equal sincerity and far greater results. They have caught the true inspiration, as their exact inquiries have revealed to them the great and hitherto hidden secret of human progress in the transcendent majesty of knowledge over all other sources for securing this end; and from each and all of the recognized lights of the Positive Philosophy the cry has gone up for more knowledge, better knowledge! Education, and of the true sort, is what they demand, and that for all mankind.

Education is the key-note of the sociological system of this school of philosophers, and they intend to ring the changes upon it till all the world shall be awakened to its incalculable importance.

Such is a brief review of the history, nature, and aim of what we denominate the rising school; and we confess we cannot, as Liberals, ignore the existence or achievements of this noble movement. Its laborers are Liberals in the widest sense who, in the very act of building a grand structure with knowledge for its corner-stone, are removing in the most effectual manner the rotten timbers of theological error and popular superstition.

31. Another Pious Fraud

History.—Written Dec. 1, 1870. The event described had taken place the previous evening, and I was one of the victims and of course indignant.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 10, December 1, 1870.

THE opening of the course of Scientific Lectures in Lincoln Hall on Wednesday evening last, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, was signalized by one of those unprincipled frauds on the public which are considered unpardonable in any company of managers who make no pretentions to being better than other men are.

Unable to sell people reserved seats at ten cents extra before the lecture, they undertook to force them to buy them on their arrival, by stationing ushers to inform all as they came in that such and such seats (all the most eligible ones) were reserved. This forced the audience to fill up the back seats or buy reserved seats on the spot. Fortunately, few were hoaxed into this latter alternative, as the audience was not very large, but the lecturer had to make the effort to speak loud enough for persons in the extreme rear to hear, many of whom were unable, at best, to hear

distinctly, while the seats in front were to a great extent vacant.

It would seem as if the Y. M. C. A. had some vague conception that every new lecture on Science is a brick out of their edifice, and were proceeding on the principle that there should be no great loss without some small gain; and, indeed, such a lecture as that by Prof. Morton, on the *Light of the Sun*, (not that spurious stuff that the Christian Bible tells us was made before the sun was), is practically more potent than a crusade against the pet superstition.

December 1, 1870—Ætat. 29.

32. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 2] The Fall of Man

History.—Written Nov. 18–20, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 10, December 1, 1870.

MAN was originally made morally *perfect*, and but for the unfortunate event which forms the subject of my sketch he might have remained so to this day. But God, when he placed him in the Garden of Eden, placed there also a certain tree called "the tree of knowledge of good and evil." The fruit of this tree being very good to eat, it must have been planted there to test the quality of the creature which God had made, for when He put Adam into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it, He gave him special direction not to eat this fruit. It is probable that Adam would have kept this injunction had not Eve first been tempted by the *serpent* and induced to eat. The serpent, being wise, and knowing the special failings of woman, tempted her, and easily obtained in this way what would have been impossible by any other means. So she eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and gave some to her husband, who eat also. Now the effect of this act of disobedience was to render man morally *imperfect*. For it gave him at once a *knowledge of good and*

evil, and having obtained this knowledge by an evil act, viz., disobedience, the newly acquired knowledge had an immediate object, and the pair became conscious of guilt. Any other act of disobedience or evil of whatever kind would have involved no guilt, for it could have brought with it no *knowledge* of the evil of the act. If Adam had fallen at his beautiful companion and slain and devoured her, it could have been no crime; but the eating of a forbidden apple not only worked the total moral corruption of our first parents, but the fall and condemnation of the whole human race. From that time forth every human being born into the world has brought with him this depravity from his very birth.

It requires no new act on his part to render him guilty. He is condemned already.

This depravity of the whole race consequent upon Adam's eating that apple, is "total," *i.e.*, man is affected with *infinite guilt*. Not only does it not require any new act of disobedience on his part, but he is incapable of performing any act of his own which will in the least mitigate or extenuate this guilt. He can do no act which in the sight of God shall be adjudged good.

The *punishment* attached to this state of guilt is also *infinite*. It consists in an eternity of torment in the flames of hell—the place which God has prepared for the punishment of his fallen creatures. If the reader will figure to himself as nearly as possible what infinite suffering from burning would be, and then connect this idea with that of infinite duration in time, he will get as correct an idea of the future destiny of man after the fall as it is possible for the finite mind to conceive. If this punishment is thought to be somewhat severe it must be remembered that it has at least the merit of being *just*, and if it seems to differ from our vulgar notion of justice, it must be also considered that "God's ways are not our ways," and that men's notions of justice and all other virtues are very imperfect.

This abode called hell is ruled over by Satan, or the Devil,

once an Archangel of Heaven, but who was consigned to this region, together with his whole army of adherents, after an unsuccessful war with the Almighty and His angels on the plains of Heaven. He it was who disguised himself as a serpent and beguiled Eve, thus securing to his dominion the human race which God had created, "in his own image," perfect, and for his own glory; a triumph achieved by strategy and cunning, which went far to compensate him for his defeat in open battle.

Thus was mankind doomed; through the superior craft of Satan, to the perpetual service of this wicked master, amid the tortures of everlasting flames which never consume and are never extinguished. And such would have been his fate forever had not a partial remedy been devised four thousand years afterwards in the mind of Omniscience, whereby a way is opened up for all who *can* and *will* to escape and be saved. This great remedial scheme, which will form the subject of my next sketch, is generally known as the "*Plan of Salvation.*"

January, 1871—Ætat. 29.

33. Official Bigotry

History.—Written in December, 1870. In the next number of the *Iconoclast* it will be made to appear that the postmaster was not to blame unless for carelessness in allowing the fact to occur.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 11, January, 1871.

WHILE opposition to free thought is presupposed from past experience, it does not often happen that we are called upon to criticise the acts of the agents of our Government, because of opposition on their part, based upon their authority as agents. We say that the official power of these agents is not often so openly perverted as to make the office a direct channel through which religious persecution shall flow. There are numerous instances of direct interference in matters of State, on the part of the church. Individuals are continually being thrust into public positions, without regard to honesty, fitness, or moral worth, whose only recommendation is drawn from the pew of a church. So prevalent has become this influence, that one may frequently hear A. ask B. how it happened that C. (who is known to lack the proper qualifications) obtained a certain situation. The answer makes it plain enough; for D. the appointing power, drinks wine at the same altar with C. We recall instances of

persons desiring matrimony, who, knowing that they must otherwise fail, pretend religious conversion, join the church, and thereby consummate the marriage. This is an evil of the blackest character—one that follows the lives of two human beings—and yet it arises from the prevailing system of theology, which turns a *living lie* into a mere fashion.

Struggles between the various religious sects are still going on, as they have been in the past; not that either, by increased numerical strength, may the more honor that God, who regards all as *the elect*; but for increased temporal power, that will be wielded, if obtained by the one, to the persecution and destruction of all others. Such is past history, which has only to repeat itself. Instance, a distinguished General, and a no less distinguished Reverend, the one prepared alike with sword for spilling blood, and with craft to fleece his fellows by speculation (?), while the other is an orator of sufficient power to reach the attentive ear of Presidents. The former thrives because of his connection with the church, and the latter, because of his connection with the pockets of his fashionable congregation. A more efficient system of spiritual checks and worldly balances, it would be difficult to devise. No wonder that ample material is supplied for gilded churches from so many gilded consciences. The designing and inordinately ambitious, as the surest road to preferment, seek a place in the bosom of a church, and go out from its baptism, to prey upon the credulity of the masses.

The tendency of individual expression to drift with the popular tide, is so strong that those who turn from serious contemplation of existing fact and fashion with positive disgust, have not the moral courage to express an opinion in conflict with prevailing sentiment. If one is inclined to doubt the truth of popular theories, though the inclination be superinduced by private reasoning and mature reflection, the expression of that doubt is restricted (if not entirely smothered) so that the world at large, shall not have the benefit of an interchange of thought. On the other hand,

the very excesses of fashion, lead a devotee into most extravagant expression, and thus has accumulated the weight of absurdity that bears down the popular mind. To be simply in fashion does not satisfy the restive mind of man, and if it be barred from progressing by the light of knowledge, it will feed upon the *pabulum* immediately offered to it.

We have been led to speak upon a phase of fashion, at the present time, from the reception of an official notice, which our readers will find upon the third page of this number. The writer of the "*reason*" why our paper should be discontinued to a *bona fide* subscriber, is doubtless a respectable Christian, whose parents "from time immemorial" were Christians also, and how is it possible for him to be otherwise? He is but one of many, who seem to have no higher calling than, parrot-like, to repeat what they hear. We refer to him in a spirit of charity, as one of the butterflies of fashion, simply to show the nature of the opposition which Liberals have to overcome. If any postal law, whether just or unjust in its operation, has been transgressed, let the fact be stated, and we shall not repeat the transgression. Until this is done, we shall forward each issue of the ICONOCLAST, hoping that our Post Office friend will not add theft to his Christian zeal.

The following is the notice to which we refer editorially:

Post Office, Eufaula, [Ala.]

To the Editor of the *Iconoclast*.

SIR:

Pursuant to instructions from the Postmaster General I beg leave to inform you that your paper, addressed to Mr. * * * * * is not taken out, but remains dead in this Office. You will please discontinue the same.

C. P. WHEELER,
Postmaster,
Nance, Asst.

Reason *A worthless sheet, calculated to do only evil, and that continually.*

34. About Evidence

History.—Written Dec. 11, 1870. I was a law student at that time and we were using Starkie on Evidence, which is a standard work, and a very excellent treatise on the subject.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 11, January, 1871.

WITH respect to the weight of evidence, the law books distinguish three degrees: 1st, "Actual perception of the fact by the senses." 2nd, "Information of others, who have had the means of acquiring actual knowledge of the facts." 3rd, "Information which we derive from one who knows nothing more of the fact than that it has been asserted by some other person."

The first of these species of evidence, is always admitted in law; the second, occasionally, when the first cannot be had; the third, never, except in the most exceptional and especial cases. The only cases, indeed, to be found in the books, which can strictly be referred to this head, as exceptions to the rule excluding hearsay evidence *of particular facts*, are: 1st, "Declarations or entries against the interest of the persons making them." 2nd, "Entries made by parties in the usual course of their business." We are particular to state these explicitly, and in the very words of

the best authority, lest, in what we are about to say, it should be answered that the case put might be covered by these exceptions.

Now we are prepared to assert, that, not only the miracles but the very books and their assumed authors, and all other facts, which tend to support the pretended revelation, the church and the religion of Christendom, rest wholly and exclusively upon this lowest of all the kinds of evidence possible, and which the law invariably excludes. Upon what a flimsy foundation, then, does this great structure of Christianity rest? The very best evidence which could be invented to establish its truth, would be instantly declared inadmissible in any Court of law in Christendom! There is not even a spark of circumstantial evidence to support it, every historian contemporary with its origin being silent with regard to these alleged facts, persons, and writings.

Infidels have been accused of demanding evidence in support of revealed religion, unlike to that which is demanded of any other event. We deny this, and only insist that such evidence shall be produced as would be admissible in a legal tribunal. Any mere testimony is unreliable enough. Why, in these days of spirits, it is not difficult to find a hundred men, any time, to swear to a clear sensual perception of greater miracles than any performed by Christ; and this, their direct testimony, being the highest of the three species of evidence known to the law, would be not only admissible, but sufficient to convict the most exemplary Christian of the most infamous crime, if directed to that end, is rejected and repudiated by them all, as well as by Infidels and rational people. Yet, our orthodox friends are clinging with a frenzied infatuation to a rotten old system, which has not one scintilla of rational or legal evidence to found a presumption in its favor.

35. [Beecher's Belief in Immortality]

History.—Item clipped from the *Sunday Chronicle* of Dec. 11, 1870, and comment written on that date.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 11, January, 1871.

I TELL you truly, that if I were to be convinced to-morrow that all this is a fiction, that there is no existence beyond the grave, I would seal my mouth with the seven seals of the Apocalypse which no man could break open, before I would whisper that guilty disclosure.—*Henry Ward Beecher's Sermon, Sunday Oct.* 9, 1870.

This may do very well for clergymen, but for our part we would be very glad to know the truth, whatever it be. We believe in the superiority of truth over error, however unpleasant the former, however pleasing the latter, and if we *knew* the truth respecting this matter, we would hasten to proclaim it to the world, even if it should dash all men's cherished hopes of future bliss to the earth. The difference between us and Mr. Beecher, is this: that though neither knows anything at all about it, he goes about preaching immortality while we say nothing, but humbly acknowledge our ignorance.—ED.

January, 1871—Ætat. 29.

36. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 3] The Plan of Salvation

History.—Written Dec. 18, 19, and 22, 1870.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 11, January, 1871.

THE primary object of the Almighty, in creating man was to people Heaven with angels. His prolonged struggle with Satan, though successful, may have served to seal His determination from considerations of policy, in seeking to fortify His empire against any future attempt of a like nature. Be this as it may, it is clear that man was designed, ultimately, for an inhabitant of Paradise. But after the unfortunate and unexpected event, described in my last sketch, whereby Satan succeeded in totally corrupting the human race, and rendering it wholly unfit to enter Heaven—I mean after the fall of man—it became apparent that the plans of Jehovah, whether laid with a view solely to His own glory, in exalting a new being, or with a view to the safety and protection of His Kingdom, were effectually circumvented. It became a necessity, therefore, to take measures to neutralize, as far as possible, the effect of this sad calamity.

Sixteen and-a-half centuries had elapsed, and the condemned race had multiplied and increased, filling the whole

land. Millions and hundreds of millions had gone to people the regions of despair and agony, for all eternity. And all this before any plan could be devised for their relief. At last, the power of the Devil grew so corrupting that it became necessary to destroy the whole human race with a flood, reserving a single family to perpetuate the species. It was fondly hoped that this would regenerate the fallen race. But, alas! the corruption was too deep seated, and broke out anew with the first descendants of Noah. Eight hundred and fifty-eight years later, a second stratagem was resorted to for the cherished purpose of bringing man back to righteousness. The Lord selected out of all the people, then living upon the earth, a single family, that of Jacob, to whom He devoted his special attention, keeping watch and ward over them, by day and by night, showing them peculiar favors, and bestowing upon them the rarest blessings; leading them out of bondage and captivity, and awarding them the finest lands, to the neglect and disregard of all the rest of mankind. This indulgence was continued for fifteen hundred years, during all of which time, the "chosen people" displayed every species of human weakness, committing all manner of crimes, and more than once, attempting to throw off their allegiance to Jehovah. At the end of this time, all of the twelve tribes but one, had, in fact, ceased to be recognized by Him, and had given themselves up to the worship of false gods.

It became apparent now, that this second attempt to defeat the intrigues of the wily Prince of Darkness, had, like the first, proved a failure. Something desperate must be done. For the third time, the Wisdom of Heaven assembled in council over the affairs of man. He must be saved; and the plan adopted for his salvation, was nothing less than this: Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, descended to earth; he put on flesh and blood, and assumed the nature of humanity, capable of both mental and physical suffering. He was begotten of the Holy Ghost, conceived by the still virgin bride of a Jewish mechanic, and born

under the most humble circumstances in an obscure village of Syria. From the age of twelve, he was going from place to place, in the vicinity of his birth-place, accompanied by a dozen poor fishermen as disciples, and preaching to his fellow men the doctrine of resurrection and eternal glory to those that believed on him, and damnation and eternal misery to those who did not. This was the first intimation that poor, ignorant man had ever had, as to what had been, or was to be, the fate of the dead. He was at length seized by the officers of the law, condemned for sedition, and crucified between two thieves. His blood thus shed, constituted a complete and effectual atonement for all the sins, either actually committed, or inherited through the fall, of those who should believe on him, and such would, and still will be saved, and admitted, after death, into the abode of celestial joys. Those, who, for any cause, fail so to believe, are left, as before, under the original condemnation, consequent upon Adam's transgression.

Such was the great Plan of Salvation, which, so far as it went, was successful, and though it has, in the eighteen and-a-half centuries which it has been in operation, gained only a small fraction of the human race, yet it is believed by the courts above, that it will yet expand and embrace them all.

In my next sketch, I will consider somewhat more in particular, the special topic of the Vicarious Atonement, incidentally touched upon in the present communication.

January, 1871—Ætat. 29.

37. Scraps of Ecclesiastical History

[No. 1] The Sacred Writings

History.—This series was commenced Nov. 26, 1870, and I first called the present article "Origin of the Church." I finished writing it the following day and changed the title. The first two articles are signed EUSEBIUS. The date of this one, Dec. 25, 1870, was that on which I submitted it to the printer.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 11, January, 1871.

MR. EDITOR:—I have been informed that your paper circulates largely among the adherents of the Orthodox church as a gratuitous tract, and as it seems to be always respectful and high-toned, I doubt not, many such are prevailed upon to read its sound and well digested articles. As you desire me to contribute something occasionally to its columns, I will endeavor to address myself more directly to this class, and will favor them with historical accounts of events belonging to the history of their church. In so doing, I shall aim to be, in all respects, truthful in my narrations even though they should refuse me the credit of being

impartial in my selections. And I shall begin with a brief notice of the record authorities upon which the church rests. These are, of course, the Old and New Testaments, *i.e.* the Bible.

But what is the Bible? Many seem to suppose that the Bible was always in its present form; that it was handed down from Heaven by the Almighty, just as we find it to-day, all arranged into parts, books, chapters, paragraphs and verses, and printed in the good old-fashioned "solemn style" English. They do not, in fact, know that it consists of a great heterogeneous mass of matter, which was once scattered through the ages that preceded the art of printing, from the very infancy of all literature; that it was written by men in rude and imperfect languages; that it was gathered up at widely separated intervals by many different persons; that it was transcribed and re-transcribed a hundred different times, by persons desiring to prove from it some pet dogma of their own, and who could have altered it in any manner they saw fit; that it was translated under similar circumstances into various languages, not each time from the original manuscripts, nor even the original language, but copies made of copies and translations made from translations, till to-day there does not exist such a thing as an original manuscript of a single chapter of the Bible, either in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, or Greek language.

Without entering into any extended exegesis of the Canonical Books of the church, I may say with safety, of the Old Testament, that, though ascribed to Moses and others, some of whom flourished, according to the approved chronology, as early as the 16th century before Christ, nothing whatever was known of it in the year 630, a thousand years later, when Hilkiah is said to have "found the book of the law," which had been lost so long that it was wholly forgotten. But with regard to the genuineness of this new found book, the following testimony of Chambers' Encyclopedia is in point: "The generally received opinion is, that the various books were originally written by the persons

whose names are affixed to them, except, Judges, Ruth, Esther, Kings, Chronicles, and perhaps Job; but that these manuscripts having perished in the destruction of the first temple, the members of the great Synagogue, *acting in accordance with a divine commission, re-wrote the Old Testament.*" (!) And it adds: "*In the absence of any conclusive evidence on this point,* the contents of the Old Testament have been minutely analysed by modern German critics, who have attempted to show that *they bear internal evidence* of having been *composed,* generally, at a *later period,* than is ordinarily believed. This opinion, however, has met with little acceptance out of Germany, *as it is considered to be incompatible with the view of inspiration* which has been and still is commonly held both by Jewish rabbis and Christian divines." Such a ground of rejection is simply begging the question.

Now with these facts before him, and "in the absence of any conclusive evidence," what candid person can arrive at any other conclusion than that it is all of comparatively modern date, or not as old as the Poems of Homer? I speak not of its intrinsic merits; I speak of it only as an authority, and if it is not what it claims to be, it is spurious. And yet this old dateless and incongruous fiction, is one of the butments upon which the church rests.

But as the New Testament is the chief support I propose to treat of that more at length in my next.

EUSEBIUS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 25, 1870.

38. Originality

History.—Written Jan. 20, 1871. This article was an attempt to explain the large proportion of selected matter in the *Iconoclast.* The labor of finding and copying out the selections was generally much greater than would have been that of writing the same amount of original matter, but a glance at the sources will show that the *Iconoclast* contained the cream of thought of both the past and the present.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 12, February, 1871.

BUT two objections have ever been raised to the general character of the ICONOCLAST; the one, that our sheet is *too small*, the other, that there is not enough *original matter* in it. The first of these has been sufficiently answered in our sixth number. The second, it shall be our purpose to answer now.

The objection of want of originality is one of the easiest and most common ever used against a new publication. When urged against the ICONOCLAST it must spring from a total misunderstanding of the aim and purpose of our paper. To class us in the same category with the literary periodicals and the organs of light reading and *belles lettres* of the day, is indeed a fundamental mistake.

We are not aiming chiefly to amuse our readers or to dazzle them with the brilliancy of our original efforts. Our work is to convince, to persuade, to influence the judgment of a biassed public, and to this object every other is sacrificed, or made subservient. And we have long since learned that this false public sentiment, not being based on reason, cannot successfully be combated by reason, but being based on education must be attacked by *authority*.

Authority is the god that ignorance worships, and we must bring authority to bear upon it if we would hope to counteract it. Hence we go to authorities. We seek to show that all the authorities are by no means on the side of error. To do this, we must quote these authorities. Every sensible person sees that the words of such men as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln, are a thousand times more potent than anything we or our correspondents could say, though gifted with the highest inspiration.

We cannot hope by our feeble voices, mingling as they do with the myriad echoes of the present that constantly rise to confuse and drown each other, to batter down these adamantine walls of popular prejudice. But when the great minds of the past speak the words of truth and wisdom, they come over these clouds of confusion and strife, and sink deep into the popular heart, leavening the mass with the leaven of intelligence.

This is our standing answer to the objection that much of our matter is not original. It is far more effective in its purpose than anything original could possibly be, whatever its intrinsic merit.

If there be any who prefer amusing or flippant articles, we have only to say that we cannot expect the patronage of such. The ICONOCLAST depends for its support upon thinking people, and confidently hopes that that class is able and willing to continue that support.

February, 1871—Ætat. 29.

39. Amende Honorable

History.—Written in January, 1871. This is the article referred to in the introduction to the one entitled: "Official Bigotry."

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 12, February, 1871.

NOTHING could be more really gratifying to us than to be able to correct the mistake under which we were laboring, when we indulged the reflections which appeared in our last number respecting what could not, under the circumstances, be construed in any other light than a gross abuse of official power in the interest of the church. We have received a letter from the Postmaster at Eufaula, Ala., completely vindicating himself from the imputations cast upon him, and explaining the whole affair which was briefly as follows: Some interested liberal had seen fit to subscribe for the ICONOCLAST to be sent, *pro salute animae*, to the Rev. M. B. Wharton, (who is apparently a person very much in need of it); an example, which many more would do well to follow. It was he who desired the paper stopped, and dictated the "*reason*" why, which the Postmaster omitted to make him sign, as is the custom. Hence the misunderstanding. We are free to say that we are glad we were mistaken, and cheerfully

publish the concluding words of the P. M.'s, letter, which are as follows:

"Since these things are so" will you do me the simple justice to set me right before the readers of your paper, and also desire the Editor of the Boston Investigator to do the same? This for two reasons: first, because I desire greatly to be an impartial public office holder, and second, because I hail from Massachusetts, and was, for many years, a subscriber to Garrison's *Liberator*.

Truly Yours,

C. P. WHEELER."

February, 1871—Ætat. 29.

40. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 4] The Atonement

History.—Written Jan. 24 and 25, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 12, February, 1871.

THE precise manner in which the death of Jesus Christ worked the redemption and salvation of those who believed on him, is not known to mankind. No one can reason out this truth. As it was impossible to predict such a result from such an event before that event took place, so is it equally impossible, since the event and knowing the result, to connect the one with the other in the relation of cause and effect. It is, however, enough to know that such was the case. It would be impious to inquire into the *rationale* of an event so fraught with blessings to a lost race.

The atonement made by the sufferings of Christ for the sins of mankind, is of a remedial nature, and although it does not reach backward and lift out the millions who had been cast into the pit before it was made, it does operate in behalf of all who at any period of their lives see fit to avail themselves of its relief, by believing that Christ died to save them. And here again we see how superior are the great laws of deity to those which the imperfect reason of

man would establish. For no matter what has been the previous character of a man, no matter how much evil he may have willfully and wantonly committed in his past life, no matter how irreparable the loss which the world may have sustained in consequence of his conduct; he has only to *repent* and *believe*, and the blood of Jesus saves him. He need not seek to repair the mischief done, it is not certain that he even need cease doing it; so that he repents of his unbelief and trusts in the saving grace of the Redeemer, his sins are pardoned and his soul is saved. It makes no difference at what period of his life he experiences this change, whether it be in youth (though this is safest on account of the frequent suddenness of death) or whether it be upon the death bed or the executioner's block

"While yet the lamp holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return."

How sublime such a divine provision! How far above the worldly thoughts of men! One of the thieves who was crucified by the side of Jesus succeeded in summoning this supreme faith before he died, and was that day with Christ in Paradise; and to-day not a convict is led to the scaffold, who is not sure to make a public confession of that faith and thus swing gently into the arms of the Saviour! Indeed the statistics of the prisons of Christendom reveal the blessed fact that their inmates are almost universally firm believers in the efficacy of the blood of Christ, to ultimately cleanse them from their sins and bring them safely to Heaven, and doubtless they find it most convenient to be constantly prepared for any emergency, while the church must greatly rejoice that its members are thus increased.

The doctrine of the atonement furnishes one of the best illustrations of the character of the sublime mysteries of religion, and the vast superiority of faith over reason. By reason all is utterly dark and inexplicable. It cannot teach us in the first place, how the death of Christ should counter-

act the sin of Adam for those who believe, or in the second place, how the mere act of believing should accomplish this great work, or in the third place, why Christ, who was innocent, should suffer for man who was guilty. All this is either beyond reason or contrary to reason; yet faith can embrace it all, and it becomes simple as the thoughts of childhood. Such is the magic power of faith. Believe it is so and then it is clear.

I shall consider in my next sketch, the doctrine of the Change of Heart.

February, 1871—Ætat. 29.

41. Scraps of Ecclesiastical History

No. 2. The New Testament

History.—Written Jan. 20–22, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 12, February, 1871.

THE New Testament being of a more modern date than the Old, besides being the great basis of the entire Christian structure, would naturally be supposed to have the very highest authority in support of its genuineness, and the certain truth of the facts it sets forth. There certainly should be no room for doubt as to the real existence of the characters, as to who actually wrote it or the time and place when and where these characters lived and acted, and the history of their lives and actions, was written. Stripped of these proofs and the book would be compelled to stand upon its intrinsic merits alone, which all its followers admit are not enough.

Bishop Butler in his Analogy declares that the Christian religion stands upon its miracles, and it is clear that it must derive its force from authority rather than from intrinsic merits, for if it were left to depend wholly upon these, its precepts and doctrines would all lose their force for want of authority, while its mere moral tone and literary quality

would fall below the productions of Plato, and many other pagan writers.

Let a doubt once arise of its divine origin and its whole power is instantly gone, for there is not a moral truth inculcated there that had not been taught centuries before it is claimed to have been written. Christ's "Golden Rule" was not only taught by Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, 500 years before, but Hillel, the Jewish rabbi, laid it down, only in a negative form, a century before Christ, and from whom he evidently borrowed it; and as to the remainder of Christ's precepts, which his followers so delight to extol, such as loving our enemies &c., all these were taught, many of them in a much stronger form, by the ethical philosophers of Greece and Asia Minor, long before the Christian era.

It is upon the divine origin, then, upon the plenary inspiration of the New Testament that Christianity itself wholly rests.]It is either divine or it is worthless. It either contains a revelation from God, or it contains nothing worthy of our attention. Now, whether the New Testament is a divine revelation or not is a question of fact. It must be proved by such evidences as those by which all other facts are proved. What then are the evidences of this divine authority? In the first place Christ himself has not left one recorded syllable of his own utterances. There is no evidence, and no one claims that he ever wrote a word in his life. And this is a very suspicious circumstance, inasmuch as this is a written book of which we are speaking. Some one must have written it, but it was not Christ. Yet the sayings of Christ are said to be there recorded. Was there then a corps of stenographic reporters in attendance, who caught the inspirations as they fell from his lips? O no! Such things belong to modern times. Did not, then, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John go to some secluded spot each night and recall what they had heard him say, and reduce the same to writing? By no means.

To quote only Christian authority, the gospel of Matthew,

which was the first, was written in the year 61. This would make it 28 years after Christ's death, or, at least, 24 years, if we make the usual correction of four years between the birth of Christ and the date assigned for the beginning of the Christian era. What reliability would be attached to a report of a speaker's remarks in these times, made from memory, twenty-four years after they were uttered? The other three Gospels are admitted to be of a much later origin, that of John being usually fixed in the year 78 A.D., or 41 years after the crucifixion of Christ.

It must be remembered, however, that these dates are those fixed by Christian writers and based on a determination to prove the genuineness of the canonical writings, at whatever cost. The critical inquiries which have been instituted in Germany and other countries, having truth only for their object, and which have tested all the facts of antiquity, whether Roman, Greek or Hebrew, by the one great standard of historical and rational evidences, have found all these assumptions untenable. It is thus found, first, that there is no evidence whatever, of the existence of such writings prior to the middle of the 2nd century, and secondly, that strong proofs exist that all the Gospels were composed and written some time during that century, by other persons who all drew from some common source, which was either an earlier manuscript, or else the oral tradition of the followers of Jesus preserved in the sermons and conversation of the early Christians. And now that they have shown us that this was the case, how reasonable it seems! For how could the disciples of Jesus write these things as they followed him around, or remember them years afterwards? And besides, Matthew was only a publican and John a fisherman; what could they have known about writing in those dark times when only one in a thousand, even of those having fortune and influence, was acquainted with letters?

These are considerations worthy of the attention of all, and if true, their necessary effect must be to destroy the

authority of the New Testament in destroying the proof of its genuineness. No one denies that there was, if not such a man as Jesus, at least, a tradition of such a man, and that is all that is required to substantiate in theory what these criticisms have established in fact, that the Christian church is built upon a series of inventions.

EUSEBIUS.

42. A Chapter of Law

History.—In the law school to which I belonged we went through Blackstone's Commentaries, but we omitted the Fourth Book. I read it by myself and found it by all means the most interesting part of that monumental work. In fact, about all that I now remember of Blackstone is contained in that part. It was law in his time and it is still law in some places, but of course it is out of harmony with American ideas. The extract was made and the introductory paragraph written Jan. 15, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 12, February, 1871.

THE following extracts from the 4th Chapter of the 4th Book of Blackstone's Commentaries, and retained in the latest editions as being still the law of England, and the spirit of the law of the United States, form an example of the kind of stuff which is being daily taught in all our schools of Law.

"Of such crimes and misdemeanors as more immediately offend Almighty God, by openly transgressing the precepts of religion, the first is that of *apostasy*, or a total renuncia-

tion of Christianity, by embracing either a false religion or no religion at all. The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, the entertaining just ideas of the moral attributes of the Supreme Being, and a firm persuasion that He superintends and will finally compensate every action in human life, (all which are clearly revealed in the doctrines, and forcibly inculcated by the precepts of our Saviour Christ,) these are the grand foundation of all judicial oaths, which call God to witness the truth of those facts, which perhaps may be only known to Him and the party attesting; all moral evidence, therefore, all confidence in human veracity, must be weakened by apostasy, and overthrown by total infidelity.

About the close of the last century the civil liberties to which we were then restored, being used as a cloak of maliciousness, and the most horrid doctrines, subversive of all religion being publicly avowed, both in discourse and writings, it was thought necessary for the civil power to interpose by not admitting those miscreants to the privileges of society who maintained such principles as destroyed all moral obligations.

To this end it was enacted, that if any person educated in, or having made profession of the Christian religion, shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the holy scriptures to be of divine authority, he shall, upon the first offence, be rendered incapable to hold any office or place of trust; and for the second, be rendered incapable of bringing any action, being guardian, executor, legatee, or purchaser of lands, and shall suffer three years imprisonment without bail.

A second offence is that of *heresy*, which consists not in a total denial of Christianity, but of some of its essential doctrines, publicly and obstinately avowed. The general definition of a heretic given by Lyndewode, extends to the smallest deviation from the doctrines of the holy church, or as the statute 2 Hen. iv. c. 15 expresses it, 'teachers of erroneous opinions, contrary to the faith and blessed determinations of the holy church.' By statute 1 Eliz. c. 1.

all former statutes relating to heresy are repealed, which leaves the jurisdiction of heresy as it stood at common law; viz.: the infliction of common censures in the ecclesiastical courts. By this statute, a boundary is set to what shall be accounted heresy; nothing being to be so determined, but only such tenets which have been so declared, first; by the words of the canonical scriptures, second; by the first four general councils, or such others as have only used the words of the holy scriptures, third; which shall hereafter be so declared by parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. The legislature hath indeed thought it proper that the civil magistrate should again interpose with regard to one species of heresy, very prevalent in modern times, for by statute 9 and 10 W. III. c. 32, if any person educated in the Christian religion, or professing the same, shall deny any of the persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or maintain that there are more Gods than one, he shall undergo the same penalties and incapacities which were just now mentioned to be inflicted on apostasy.

Another species of offences against religion are those which affect the *established churches*. If any person whatever shall, in plays, songs or other open words, speak anything in derogation of the book of common prayer, or shall forcibly prevent the reading of it, or cause any other service to be used in its stead, he shall forfeit for the first offence, a hundred marks; for the second, four hundred, and for the third, shall forfeit all his goods and chattles, and suffer imprisonment for life. Non-conformity to the worship of the church is the negative branch of this offence. Non-conformists are of two sorts: first, such as absent themselves from divine worship in the established church through total irreligion and attend the service of no other persuasion. These forfeit one shilling to the poor every Lord's day, they so absent themselves, and 20 l. to the King if they continue such default for a month together. The second species of non-conformists are those who offend through a mistake or perverse zeal. [The severe penalties here enumerated

against papists and dissenters are too numerous to be given in this article.]

A fourth species of offences against God and religion, is that of *blasphemy* against the Almighty by denying His being or providence; or by contumelious reproaches of our Saviour Christ. Whither also, may be referred all profane scoffing at the holy scriptures, or exposing it to contempt and ridicule. These are offences punishable at common law by fine and imprisonment, or other infamous corporal punishment; for Christianity is part of the laws of England. Somewhat allied to this, is the offence of common swearing and cursing. Every laborer, sailor or soldier profanely cursing or swearing shall forfeit 1 s.; every other person under the degree of gentleman 2 s.; and every gentleman or person of superior rank, 5 s.

A sixth species of offences against God and religion, of which our books are full, is *witchcraft, conjuration, enchantment* or *sorcery*. To deny the possibility, nay, actual existence, of witchcraft and sorcery is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God, in various passages both of the Old and New Testaments, and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws; which, at least, suppose the possibility of commerce with evil spirits. The civil law punishes with death, not only the sorcerers themselves, but also those who consult them, imitating in the former, the express law of God, (Exodus, xxii. 18) 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' And our own laws both before and since the conquest, have been equally penal; ranking this crime in the same class with heresy, and condemning both to the flames."

43. Sin

History.—Written February 28, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 13, March, 1871.

WHAT is sin? This word is more often used to define others than it is itself defined. Indeed we do not believe it ever was defined. Webster says it is "a voluntary departure of a moral agent from a known rule of duty, prescribed by God; any voluntary transgression of the divine law, or violation of the divine command." "A wicked act."

This definition involves two disputed points; first, whether "any rule of duty" can be "*known*," and secondly, whether it is prescribed by God. Indeed, there is a third, which we cannot here discuss, viz., whether there be such a thing as a "voluntary agent." A *definition* must be *definite*, but what could be more *indefinite* than the above language? It is not Webster's fault. He has done the best he could do. Neither is the fault with the language. No language could do better. The difficulty lies in the *notion* which it is attempted to define.

The idea which the word *sin* conveys to the mind is one of those vague generalities which though they lie upon the surface of the ocean of thought, yet when we seek to grasp them with the rational faculty, they prove to be but bubbles

which break and disappear at the touch. Science cannot investigate sin. It can grapple with *evil*, because it can reduce it to pain, and pain to sensation, and sensation to the vibration of the nerves, *i.e.* to matter and motion, the *ultimatum* of philosophic analysis. Here is an idea, very superficial it is true, but real and certain; for *id certum est quod certum reddi potest* is no less the maxim of science than of law. But what can science do with sin? It can deal with crime, both by statistical induction and logical deduction. It can discover its laws and reduce them to practice, the aim of all science. But crime has to do with the effect of human action. Sin, however, professes to declare the motives of action, the degree of intelligence, and the strength of judgment of the agent, and the effect which the act will have, not only upon men and in this world but, upon God and angels in a future world throughout all eternity. The man who pronounces another a sinner presumes to declare that he knows God's laws and knows the other knows them and has voluntarily violated them. What a monstrous assumption! This is the quintessence of bigotry. Yet this, if we were to judge by their actions as shown in history, and every day around us, is the chief duty of that class of people who are continually preaching charity as the first cardinal virtue. Is not bigotry the very antipode of charity?

But it is coming to be realized that those alleged principles which science cannot take hold of for the purpose of reduction, have no existence in fact; and so it is with sin. It is a phantom, like witchcraft and demonism, and will vanish as these have vanished, with the next turn of the wheel of progress. Yet reflect with what zeal and pertinacity men have pursued this phantom! Why, for twelve centuries they absolutely did nothing else but fight, with fanatical desperation, this imaginary monster, and thousands are still engaged in this unprofitable crusade. Their struggles remind one of the fabled battle of the shadows in the valley of Walhalla, who, in their fierce onslaughts, cut limb from limb, pierced one another through and through, and

hewed their bodies into pieces, only to rise up again from the bloodless field, restored to their original forms, and renew with undiminished fury the fruitless and interminable carnage.

44. Law

History.—Written Feb. 14, 1871. This is merely supplementary to the previous article entitled: "A Chapter of Law."

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 13, March, 1871.

ONE of our subscribers says he has been taken to task because of our article in last issue, entitled "A Chapter of Law." He says it is complained by the "good" people of his town, that we represented that such things are still taught in our schools of law, whereas those in that locality omit them in the regular course of instruction.

We have only to say that we do not pretend to know the methods of every petty law school throughout the country. We would naturally suppose that some professors would have the good sense to omit them, but they cannot expunge them from the books, nor prevent the students from reading them; and what students read in their law books they are apt to regard as law. But the words quoted in that article *are* law in England to-day, so far as the books show, with the exception of the paragraph relating to witchcraft, (which was inserted through inadvertence) and we only claimed that they were the spirit of the law of the United

States. We still insist that such is the case, and in proof, need only refer to a late decision of Judge Sharswood, of Pa., a great legal authority in this country, and a man who has published an American edition of Blackstone without adding as much as a note to tell the American student that this nonsense is not the law of his country, as well as of England—this man rendered a decision only a year ago, denying the validity of a devise to a *Liberal* corporation on the ground that "Christianity is part of the laws of the United States." It is the spirit of our law to that extent, at least.

45. Obituary [of Mr. J. D. Gangewer]

History.—Written Feb. 15, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 13, March, 1871.

IT becomes our painful duty to record the death of Mr. J. D. Gangewer, one of the pioneers of our liberal movement in Washington, who died on the 11th of February, after a protracted illness from Bronchial Consumption. Mr. Gangewer, though not one of the original instigators of the N. L. R. L. was the very first to respond to its circular, and being himself a practical compositor and having been for many years the editor of a paper, he began immediately to urge the establishment of an organ of the League, as the best means of doing good in the cause. His suggestions were adopted and the ICONOCLAST is the result. Though not greatly blest with this world's goods, Mr. G. generously volunteered to do all the composition upon the first two numbers without compensation, and would doubtless have done more, but his health failing he made a journey to the West in the hope of escaping the ravages of his disease, only to return in a few months in a sinking condition which terminated by death.

Mr. Gangewer's liberal sentiments were not shared by his wife or his children, and an attempt was made at his funeral, by the employment of a long-faced Pharisee to preach his

funeral sermon, to drag him into ranks of the Christian army. That he was never wheedled into any such nonsense we are prepared, from frequent visits and conversations up to within a very short time of his death, to most positively assert. On one occasion, not a month before he died, he remarked that one of his orthodox friends called to see him, and mention having been made of his probable approaching dissolution, asked him with customary impertinence whether he thought he was prepared to die. "My answer was," said he, "I have always been prepared to die;" and he added, "this is the only way I can get rid of their importunities; I am compelled to give them short answers or else they will worry me to death." He always read the ICONOCLAST with pleasure as long as he could summon strength, and when the twelfth number reached him, though too weak and dim of eye to read it, he was gratified to know that the enterprise he had been so instrumental in founding had survived one cycle of the seasons, and bid fair to live on after its founder should have passed away

March, 1871—Ætat. 29.

46. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 5] Change of Heart

History.—Written Feb. 14–25, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 13, March, 1871.

A BELIEF in the power of the blood of Jesus to save the soul, is something more than any other belief. It does not alone consist in the mental satisfaction and rational conviction of a truth. It is something more. It is universally attended with a supernatural transformation of the whole character of the believer. This miraculous change of character which takes place is called *conversion*. It is the true test of belief. Unless it is experienced it is to be regarded certain that that degree of faith has not yet been reached which is sufficient for the salvation of the sinner, for "except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God."

This New Birth is one of the mysteries of religion. It is attended by a number of characteristic sentiments, which in turn give rise to peculiar actions, the performance of which furnishes a certain test of conversion. This will be better understood when we consider the theory of the phenomenon. It is this: The sin which is in every human being from his birth, is nothing more nor less than the

presence there of the Evil Spirit, who, through his wisdom, gained possession of the human heart in the Garden of Eden. It is thus Satan who sits enthroned in the hearts of men and impels them forward in their career of wickedness. It is this influence which controls all human acts. It inspires man with the love of money, and moves him to amass wealth and surround himself with worldly goods. It makes him dig into the earth for gold, and traffic in paltry wares to obtain the means to gratify his bodily desires. It instigates all labor and industry. "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread" was the curse with which Adam left Paradise. Therefore, all work is base and groveling, and is inspired by the Devil. He also, it is, who fans the unholy flame of love between the sexes, which forms the foundation of the family and of society. Ambition too, springs from the same foul source, and in his lust for power, man rushes on to glory, forms mighty states and empires, and erects vast systems of government and law to preserve the customs and institutions of society. And not content with all this havoc among the original habits of human simplicity, the wily foe decoys man on and emboldens him to possess himself of the secrets of the Almighty. In his wickedness and turpitude, he has dared to investigate the universe of God and, led on by the wise serpent, has penetrated upward into the celestial firmament, and downward into the bowels of the earth to find out the ways of Deity!

Such is the depraved condition of the human soul when presided over by the spirit of evil. The Change of Heart, of which I am speaking, purifies this sordid temple. The process is this: The instant the belief in Christ is complete the Holy Spirit rushes in, expels the Arch Fiend, and takes possession of the soul. It drives out all these base and unholy sentiments, and fills the soul with new thoughts and nobler feelings. The utter unworthiness of all material things becomes apparent; the passions are subdued and their influence destroyed. The sublime idea of a life of eternal bliss renders contemptible the concerns of an ephemeral

life on earth. The new made being hates the world with an unutterable hate; compared with his love of Jesus, that which he bears toward his wife and children is little else than hate. For the sinner, he experiences only the most intense feelings of execration which always manifest themselves, if not forcibly prevented, in efforts to destroy him. It is this righteous indignation which so justly burns the wretched heretics at the stake, or tortures them with the rack and thumbscrew, for the good of their souls. The man who has been filled with the Holy Ghost scorns the carnal desires and persecutes the flesh. Thousands refuse to marry and shut themselves up in dark and humid cells to conquer passion, and feast the spirit in fervent contemplation of the glories of Heaven. Pleasure is shunned and forbidden by the redeemed soul; the merry sports of children are curtailed and denied, while the frivolity and hilarity of youth, the wicked dance, the fascinating card table, and the alluring stage are condemned and exorcised with the most awful anathemas. All amusement receives the holy frown of the saint, and naught becomes worthy but incessant prayer and praise, and perpetual devotion to Almighty God. Everything impure and unholy in literature, from the romance of natural passion to the materialistic volume of physical science, receives its merited rebuke. The Christian's literature is confined to his Bible and a few holy books, such as the lives of saints, and stories of holy children. An unconquerable aversion and invincible antagonism to everything which is known as secular or natural, are the distinguishing characteristics of the soul which has been "born of water and of the spirit."

In our age when the wicked secularism of society and of government forbid both asceticism and persecution, this holy renewal of the heart of men displays itself in a somewhat different channel. Freed from the prison of sin the happy soul finds vent for its emotions in wild hallelujahs of praise and unrestrained shouts of delirious joy. In these sanctifying outbursts of religious enthusiasm, the body is

oftentimes thrown into violent convulsionary spasms, or falls prostrate and paralysed under the power of the Holy Ghost.

The doctrine of the Trinity will form the subject of my next sketch.

47. Review of the Science of Evil, or First Principles of Human Action, by Joel Moody, Topeka, 1871

History.—The book was received by the League Jan. 31, 1871, and turned over to me. I read it somewhat carefully and wrote this review. Feb. 26, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 13, March, 1871.

A BOOK written by Joel Moody, and bearing the above title, has found its way to us from Topeka, Kansas, where it was published, and is said to be the first book published in that State. If so, Kansas has made a good beginning in this direction. The work is remarkable in so many respects that we feel justified in giving it somewhat more space than is our custom with new books.

The volume contains 342 pages, has rather a fancy binding, is printed in clear type and on fine paper. Being the first edition, and, as they claim, the first publication of the firm of Crane & Byron, the somewhat unusual number of typographical errors it contains may be, to some extent, excused. Besides its typographical errors, we detect a number of grammatical and rhetorical imperfections, which

are evidently the author's, with an occasional misstatement of fact, arising from his ignorance or negligence, respecting certain matters which he desires to employ in illustration, (as, for example, on page 67 where he states that the path of a projectile is "hyperbolic" instead of "parabolic,") and which show that he is less exact in his details than he is correct in his conclusions. He is withal inclined to be a little wild and flighty in his combinations, and not especially dignified in his style. This much we say frankly, but we as frankly confess that this is all we can say in derogation of Mr. Moody's book. These imperfections are all upon the surface and will not probably be detected by one in twenty of his readers. When we come to the substance, to the subject matter of the work, we have nothing to offer but praise and encomium.

The great aim of the writer, in which he has most admirably succeeded, is to show that what men call evil is in reality no evil at all, in the sense in which the term is popularly employed, no violation of natural laws, but only the result of conditions existing in the world, which can never be wholly changed or destroyed. The pain and suffering of mankind and of the animal kingdom is not the result of disorder and anarchy in nature; it is the necessary result of the regular laws of nature operating upon these beings as they exist. He successfully controverts the opinions even of such thinkers as Herbert Spencer and Theodore Parker upon this point. Animal life must have pain as one and the chief condition of its existence. Without it the creature would never eat or drink, and would immediately die. This idea is most ably carried through the lower and up into the highest affections and faculties of animate existence, to man in his social relations. Evil can indeed be mitigated. Conditions can be molded by intelligence, so that the operations of natural laws will inflict less and less suffering, but only infinite wisdom and power could wholly remove it. The evil we suffer is subjective, it lies in our ignorance, not in the thing which inflicts it. Hence

it follows, that all blame is nugatory, unphilosophical, foolish. Remove ignorance, spread knowledge; this alone will mitigate evil. Crimes are inherited or induced by education and circumstances. It is silly to punish them; they should only be prevented. Bad temper results from bad digestion; apply to your physician who will prescribe a change of *diet*, not to your clergyman who will only tell you you need a change of *heart*. The author has interwoven copious and apt illustrations from history, science, politics, and especially religion, some of which latter, we shall take the liberty of reproducing in our columns from time to time.

There is a vast deal more which we would be glad to refer to, but our space forbids. We recommend the book, however, to everybody as not only a philosophical and practically scientific treatise on a vital subject, but as a truly liberal work, breathing the spirit of free inquiry, boldly assailing the old fortresses of prejudice and error, and laying bare with an unsparing hand, the pernicious dogmas of creeds and religions. It is, at the same time, candid and respectful, giving every influence its due weight and its proper place in history. Theology has been a necessity, it is the mother of science; it springs from an effort of the primitive mind in its limited circle of knowledge to solve the mysteries of nature. What more is science? Science is the new theology, its god is force. "That the freedom of science will one day take the place of theologic tyranny, and that the scientific lecture will take the place of the Sunday sermon, is a fact shortly to be realized. It is a fact already knocking at the door of the church."

April, 1871 —Ætat. 29.

48. Hope

History.—Written in March, 1871. The thought running through this editorial is the one that finally caused me to cease trying to combat error openly, and convinced me that the successful way to remove it was the substitution of scientific truth incompatible with it

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 14, April, 1871.

IT is fortunate for the progress of humanity that it is a vegetable rather than a mechanical growth. If a house becomes old and rotten, it must be razed to the ground and its very foundations removed before a new one can be erected in its place; but when a plant becomes blighted, and its leaves and stem wither and die, a new plant pushes upward from beneath, and gently laying off the old one, supplies its place. The growth of human ideas follows the analogy of the plant rather than of the house. Opinions, and with them customs and institutions, change and succeed each other from beneath rather than from above. Liberty of intellect is the result of slow subterranean influences. The theological myths can only be set aside by the power of scientific truths repugnant to them. These truths need not come in the form of weapons aimed at

theology. It is perhaps best that they should not. When they do thus announce their mission theology is forewarned and forewarned is forearmed. But when they grow up silently within the camps of religious beliefs, the latter soon find themselves flanked, and their retreat cut off. The same individual finds himself a believer in both Genesis and Geology. But the testimony of these is utterly incompatible. The only reason why both can stand in the same mind at the same time, is because it makes no comparison of the two. It fears and shirks the task. But the next generation will be bolder, and on the first comparison the perishable manuscript will yield to the indelible rock, and theology will yield to science.

Liberals are apt to suppose that because little is done to overthrow the errors of theology, they will never be overthrown; and, on the other hand, the religionists, viewing the comparative insignificance of the anti-religious movement, are flattering themselves that their cause is secure. Both are mistaken. The former give too great prominence to the forces of demolition; the latter greatly underrate the forces of reconstruction. While there can be no doubt that all efforts to expose the errors and define the wrongs of narrow creeds and barbaric superstitions, are, to a certain extent, effectual, still the real comparative good which is, in point of fact, accomplished in this way is but a small percentage of the whole sum of the civilizing and enlightening power which is being perpetually brought to bear by the combined agencies of this age. Their effects are not manifested in any sudden transformations. Like all the operations of nature, they are slow and gradual. We seldom see systems torn down, or customs rooted out, or institutions abolished, or creeds abandoned, until, by the slow, transforming power of these invisible agencies, they have ceased to be effectual, or become no longer tolerable. The process is a dilution rather than a deletion, a purification rather than a purgation. It is perceptible only when we look backward; it is rapid only by contrast. But he that will

carefully compare the nineteenth with the sixteenth, seventeenth or even the eighteenth century, will see that the progress of mental liberty is a mighty, an irresistible tide.

Let us not then be discouraged at the apathy of some who profess to be liberal. Unless they soon awake, when they do they will find themselves behind instead of in advance of the age.

49. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 6] The Trinity

History.—Written March 24, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 14, April, 1871.

GOD is triune. He is *three* at the same time that He is *one*. He is at once Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The Son (Jesus Christ) was *begotten* by God; the Holy Ghost *proceeded* from God, and yet the Son is not only God, but the *whole* of God, and so is also the Holy Ghost. These three persons are not only "neither blended nor separated," but they are both blended and separated. The Son is just as old as the Father, though begotten of Him; the Holy Ghost is also eternal with God, though proceeded from Him. So also are the Son and Holy Ghost both equal in essence to the Father, and all three are uncreated.

Now, I am aware that some are disposed to cavil at this Athanasian creed, which is to-day the creed of all our churches. They say it sets forth impossibilities, incompatible facts and contradictory assertions. Their error arises from their education. They are taught in the sordid schools of science and materialism, and they forget that their narrow rules do not apply to religion. They have

but to remember that "all things are possible with God." That foundation principle which philosophers have placed at the beginning of all philosophy, and to which they have given the name of the doctrine of non-contradiction, which affirms that a thing cannot both be and not be at the same time,—that doctrine even, must give way at the will of the Almighty, and it is ignored and violated in the character of the Godhead. The axiom of mathematics, that the whole is greater than any of its parts, must also stand aside before the omnipotent edict of the Council of Nice. As God has no law for his *actions* but his own free-will and pleasure, so there are no conditions assigned for the *facts* in his kingdom. It is above all conditions and the source from which all conditions emanate. The natural laws which we learn, and which govern the physical world are but the conditions which God has seen fit to affix to this part of His universe at this period of its existence, and which He may at any moment abrogate, annul, alter or reverse, whenever He shall deem consistent with His most sovereign pleasure. It would be perfectly easy and legitimate for Him to decree at any time that substances should fall *from*, instead of *towards* the center of the earth, or that twice two should make six, instead of four. And if such things are possible in our own material sphere, what occasion is there for mortals to so blasphemously deny, in respect to the Godhead itself, that *three times one make one?*

To understand the doctrines of theology it is absolutely indispensable to get rid entirely of the prevailing conceptions of truth. Truth is not any eternal, absolute, unconditioned thing. It depends wholly upon the will of Deity. Whatever God wills to exist, exists; whatever He wills to be done, is done. With the application of this principle to the doctrine of the Trinity, all the difficulties which otherwise surround and becloud it, at once disappear.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation will form the subject of my next sketch.

April, 1871 —Ætat. 29.

50. Scraps of Ecclesiastical History

No. 3. Church Councils

History.—Written March 16, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 14, April, 1871.

A characteristic of church proceedings has been its councils, of which there have been twenty Œcumenical, or universal, whose decisions in matters of faith and doctrine are held to be infallible—though they have contradicted each other a hundred times—and many inferior ones, whose rules have generally also the force of law. I cannot here, of course, enumerate them all, but as they serve to illustrate the character of ecclesiastical history, I venture to refer briefly to those which have occupied the most prominent places in it. Passing over that described in the Acts (chap. xv), which met at Jerusalem, in reference to the relation of Christianity to the Mosaic law,—but which does not appear to have decided anything—the first great Council was that of Nice, in 325 A.D.

This Council was called by the emperor Constantine, to condemn the doctrines of one Arius, who denied the co-eternal existence and the identity of Christ with God, and to put down other heresies. Arius' doctrines were con-

demned, with but two opposing votes, and he was banished to Illyricum. The Arians were subsequently terribly persecuted, and eventually extinguished, though they have been resurrected in modern times under the name of Socinians, of which Sir Isaac Newton was a member, and form to-day, as Unitarians, the liberal wing of the Christian church. Singularly enough, all this fierce and bloody dispute turned upon one letter, (the Greek *iota*—our *i*) for in that language the word by which Arius described the relation of the Son to the Father was *homoiousia*, meaning similarity of essence, while the word used by the majority of the Council was *homoousia*, which means identity of essence.

The Council of Laodicæa, held in the year 363, was the one at which it was decided which books of the Old and New Testaments were canonical. Of the Old Testament they took all the Hebrew writings they could find, (they are all about alike) and picked out such as they thought would support Christianity, and voted these to be inspired and the rest not. The New Testament was *created* here. Out of some scores of manuscripts which had been written about the famous person Christ who, it was alleged, lived and did so many marvels three centuries and a half previous, (long enough in those simple times to make him a hero, the same as Hercules and Ulysses) they either selected out the four Gospels which *they* ascribed to the disciples Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; or else they took parts of several manuscripts which appeared to them to harmonize best, or which they could best make harmonious by amending them themselves, and putting these with other documents, epistles and sermons then existing, they *got up* the book which we call the New Testament. This they voted to be of divine origin, and all the rest to be profane and heretical, and ordered them to be burned; so that most of them perished then and there, for want of other copies in existence. A few copies, however, have been handed down, and constitute what is called the Apocryphal New Testament,

a most interesting collection, as serving to illustrate this point.

The Council which met at Constantinople in 879 erased the word *filioque* from the creed, in the article on the "Procession of the Holy Ghost," and this split the great unwieldy church in two, and ever since, the Greek Church has remained distinct from the Roman. The great question, as is seen, was whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, or from the Father *and the Son*. As at the first Council of Nice it was decided that the Son was uncreated and co-eternal with God, so the Roman Church held now that the Holy Ghost was in like manner eternal, and emanated from both Father and Son. And also, as the heretical Arius believed that Christ was in some way inferior to God, and had been born from him, so the less orthodox Greeks now maintained that the Holy Ghost proceeds from God alone as the superior being and source of all divine influences. In trying to decide this question there were bloody wars and persecutions, till at last they agreed to disagree and remain forever separated in a spirit of unmixed Christian hate and enmity.

I shall speak of some of the more modern Councils in my next article.

51. Organization

History.—Written in March, 1871. I had probably forgotten that I had written another editorial with the same title, and just a year previously. See Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1870 (supra p. 56).

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 15, May, 1871.

ORGANIZATION is the superstructure of our civilization. It is the distinguishing feature between man the low savage and man the cultured, intellectual being. The great organizations in which we live—the governments of the day—and the civilization which has grown out of them, stand as living monuments to the power of combined human effort. Organization is the key-note of the age. In all branches of industry and thought it is the lever of success. Every workshop, every factory, every hive of industry is an organization. Every newspaper and its subscribers are an organization, and withal a most powerful one. The force of united effort may be for good or for evil; it may exert itself on behalf of liberty, peace and brotherhood, as well as for slavery, tyranny, and war. It may be used to discover and disseminate new truths, or to sustain and perpetuate old and worn-out errors and superstitions. The predominant organized theology of Christendom, with which we are dealing, affords a striking

illustration of this fact. But this is no argument against organization. On the contrary, it is another evidence of its potency. Though it may serve an evil master, it always serves him well. Think of an organization holding together, in all nations and all climes, 190,000,000 of human beings! Such is the Catholic Christian Church. And each of the Protestant churches is equally illustrative

Yet, amid all these staring facts, there are, in one of the most civilized portions of the world, thousands, perhaps millions, of men and women whose purpose with respect to these superannuated creeds is single, but who are making comparatively no united effort towards its accomplishment. With the exception of the societies of the Spiritualists (which are doing an immense work), and a few local associations, such as those at Toledo and Salem, O., there is no live Liberal organization in America.

They are doing better than this in England, for there are many connected societies, all apparently in healthy condition. Germany is notoriously "infidel," but its heresy does not seem to take an organized form. Italy and Spain are at last awakening from the torpor of Christian superstition. Unhappy France is now beneath the cloud of civil war, but will soon emerge, we may hope, instructed and purified by misfortune.

These are the fields for Liberal work. The Rationalists of the Old World and the New should be united in practical organization. The spirit of free thought is universal; it is exclusive to no country, it knows no nationality. But let us perform our part at home. In every village containing a half-a-dozen Liberals there is sufficient intellect and ability to form a social, an intellectual or a working society (public or private), and such societies could easily make known their work through the existing Liberal papers.

We do not believe that men are totally depraved—that it is more difficult to teach truth, science and virtue, than it is to inculcate falsehood and theology. At all events let the experiment be tried.

52. One Murderer in Hell

History.—Written March 25, 1871. Rulloff and Grady seem to be aliases. I find the latter name alone mentioned in connection with this editorial squib, and "at this distance of time" I am unable to reconcile matters. The newspapers spelled the former name as above, but probably there should be only one *l*—Ruloff.

Ruloff was no doubt an interesting character. In an article by Dr. Ely Van de Warker on "The Relations of Women to Crime," contributed to the *Popular Science Monthly* for November, 1875, or four years after Ruloff's execution, this statement occurs: "Take such an instance as that of Ruloff, to whom Nature had given the crude material of a magnificent mind. In spite of the terrible potency of his criminal ideas, a longing for a nobler and higher life existed within him in sufficient force to give direction to considerable self-culture. He stole, and would kill without remorse any one who stood between him and his object, simply to gain money to enable him to follow his studies."[1] Dr.

[1] *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. VIII, November, 1875, p. 15.

Van der Warker seems to have had some expert knowledge of the case.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 15, May, 1871.

THERE is no doubt that Rulloff is in Hell. He did n't make any profession of religion, he did n't call for a priest, he did n't sing a psalm nor shout a hallelujah. He died as he had lived—a skeptic and a misanthrope. The ignorant newspaper editors say he died a Stoic, but this is a worse reproach to Zeno than it is to Christ to say, as they always do, that every other murderer who is hung dies a Christian. Think of comparing Seneca, Aurelius or Epictetus with this crime-stained villain!

We do not doubt that Rulloff's "infidelity" will form the subject of a thousand homilies and sermons, as a dreadful warning of the terrible end to which it must *inevitably* lead. We believe, to say nothing of right, that it is sheer foolishness to hang anybody. When a man might be added to the number of *producers* of the country, and thus be of far more value than any lawyer or merchant, who produces nothing, (not to mention the clergy, who not only produce nothing, but are general public nuisances), it is not only short-sighted and impolitic to kill him, but it borders on the idiotic. As well might a farmer kill his ox because it is unruly, instead of yoking it to a plough. But we did not set out to make an argument on capital punishment. If any one should be hung Rulloff should. He evidently was not a safe animal to be loose. He was vicious. His parents, and perhaps his remote ancestors, had bequeathed him this legacy. And what he had not inherited his teachers (whether they wished to or not), had instilled into him. This is the case with all dangerous persons. They should be shut up and set to work. But Rulloff's case is extremely peculiar. He was a scholar, an "infidel," a skeptic, perhaps an atheist. His is therefore a remarkable, an exceptional, a wholly anomalous

case. It is, in fact, the only instance within our recollection of a victim of the gallows who did not die a happy, rejoicing, psalm-singing Christian. When salvation is so cheap it is no wonder this is so, or that crime is so prevalent. What a fool Rulloff was to sacrifice his eternal interest to his honor!

53. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 7] Transubstantiation

History.—Written May 14, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 15, May, 1871.

WHENEVER the Eucharist, or Lord's supper, is celebrated, a remarkable phenomenon takes place. The bread which is used is changed into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood. This is one of the most remarkable things connected with Christianity. That it actually does transpire, however, does not admit of a doubt. It has been the practice of the Church to celebrate the last supper of Christ for eighteen and a half centuries, and in no single instance has it been known to fail. There have been those, it is true, who have from time to time manifested a disposition to cavil at this wonderful doctrine, but they have been at length effectually silenced by the decree of the Council of Trent, by Martin Luther's arguments, and by the "Thirty-Nine Articles." No one now thinks of questioning the fact that he who partakes of the Communion Sacrament is eating Christ's body and drinking his blood. But nevertheless, as man is not omniscient, and cannot be supposed to comprehend all

the methods and workings of such divine mysteries; and yet, as all are anxious that the truth should be taught respecting such all-absorbing matters, there have, naturally enough, been some slight differences of opinion concerning the minor details of this doctrine, whose general truth has been admitted by all. These slight irregularities of the human mind have not been of a serious character, only having occasioned the death, by shooting or burning, of a few hundred thousand men and women who were unwilling to agree with the most powerful party where the controversies arose. The distinctions between the *real presence* of the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, the Lutheran *impanation*, the *efficacious presence* of Calvin and the Reformed Lutheran church, and the *spiritual presence* of the Anglican and other Protestant churches, are distinctions wholly without difference, since it matters not whether the bread and wine have been miraculously changed into flesh and blood, or whether the former still exist in connection with and in addition to the latter, or whether the flesh and blood come into the bread and wine in emanations from Christ's body in Heaven, or whether that flesh and blood be spiritual or material, as long as all equally agree that they are actually and really there; and this, as I remarked, no one now assumes to deny. No one, I say,—I mean no Christian. There are heretics now as always,—infidels, scoffers, materialists, scientists, who in the face of the terrible prospect of being eternally burned in unquenchable flames for their opinions dare still to maintain that these things cannot be; that it is not natural, forsooth, for bread to be suddenly changed into meat, or wine into blood: that it is physically impossible, as they say, for both to exist in equal quantities and occupy the same space as one had done; and who even assert, in a spirit of impious ridicule, that it would not seem to be an approved Christian practice to eat human flesh and drink human blood, much less that of an incarnate deity. Of these I need say nothing, for "verily they shall have their reward."

This doctrine of Transubstantiation is one of the most important of the Christian religion. It enables the Christian, while his soul is communing with that of the Saviour to obtain a physical perception of Him as well, to literally get a taste of His qualities; to chew his muscles and swallow him bodily into his stomach, and thus fully appreciate His divine qualities. There is margin for discussion as to whether the bread and wine which is not consumed is thus converted, the Catholics maintaining that it is; and also as to the point in the physical process of mastication, deglutition and digestion, at which the divine quality disappears and the corporeal substance is restored. On this latter point Pope Innocent III has strenuously maintained and supported by elaborate argument, that, should the communicant, after partaking of the sacrament, be suddenly seized with a violent dysentery, the character of the excrement would still be sanctified. This point may therefore be considered settled. A case occurred in which, after the bread had been duly sanctified by the priest, a hungry dog obtained access to the Host and devoured it, but it is not known whether any eminent divine has ever offered to the world any explanation of the particular effect which such an act must have produced upon the dog.

In my next sketch I will endeavor to give an idea of the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception*.

June (?), 1871 —Ætat. 29.

54. Immigration Statistics

History.—Written Feb. 10–13, 1871. The entire series of tables of immigration statistics from its inception to the year 1881 was compiled by me in the United States Bureau of Statistics. These tables were regularly published annually and sometimes monthly in the reports of the Bureau, and I have never regarded that work as my own contribution. But in this special preliminary report the reading matter in the two paragraphs at the bottom of page v and top of page vi, are not only my own, but are the result of prolonged research. Especially should I claim credit for the estimate of the 250,000 immigrants arriving in the country prior to the year 1820. I consulted many early authorities on the subject and arrived at that figure after weeks of investigation. The estimate has never been questioned and has been quoted many times. It was attributed to various authors, and especially to Dr. Seybert, who was one of the authorities consulted by me, but his estimates covered only a part of the period. In 1880, when General Francis A. Walker was Superintendent of

Census, he so attributed it in one of the bulletins that he issued. On Nov. 9, 1880, I wrote him a letter stating the facts, and received from him the following courteous reply:

[7—037] DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Tenth Census CENSUS OFFICE,
of the
United States.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,—November 17 1880.

To LESTER F. WARD, Esq.
1464 R. I. ave. N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MR. WARD:

I am much obliged to you for your note of the 9th inst. relative to my slip in attributing to Dr. Seybert the estimate of immigration between 1790 and 1820, which was in fact prepared by yourself. In making this estimate in my report on South Carolina I followed a previous paper by myself, on the growth of population between 1776 and 1876. How I then came to make the mistake is beyond my comprehension.

Thanking you for calling my attention to the matter, I remain

Very truly yours,
F. A. WALKER,
Supt. of Census.

In view of the great interest that the whole subject of immigration and emigration has latterly assumed I think I ought to say something about my part in it, and this is the only place where such a statement is appropriate to the present work. It will also possess a certain biographical interest.

After receiving my discharge from the army on Nov. 18, 1864, on account of gunshot wounds received at the battle of Chancellorsville on May 3, 1863, and from which I had not yet recovered, I applied for a clerkship under the Government, but I did not receive it until May 8, 1865. I was then appointed to a temporary position in the Third Auditor's Office of the Treasury Department, where the Quartermasters' accounts were settled, and as I had shown that I understood book-keeping, I was assigned to the money Division. My appointment was made permanent on July 26th, and I was given some of the most extensive and difficult accounts. The Bureau of Statistics was established early in 1867, and I applied to be transferred to that, hoping that the work would be more varied and interesting. Mr. Alexander Delmar was its first Director, and I was ordered to report to him. The Bureau was under a Commission, of which David A. Wells, the political economist, was the head, but he was a strong free trader, and Congress was still more strongly protectionist. It was not long therefore before the Commission was abolished, but the Bureau was retained. Mr. Delmar had to go and Gen. Francis A. Walker succeeded him. He did not remain long, however, as he was made Superintendent of Census. A man named Edward Young became chief of the Bureau. Much later Mr. Joseph Nimmo was appointed to that office. I served under all these heads.

I commenced work in the Bureau on Jan. 2 1867. Mr. Delmar gave me to understand that I

should have some kind of work suited to my abilities, but the great bulk of the work was the compilation of the statistics of imports, exports, and navigation, that had previously been done in the Registration Division, and I was long compelled to do that kind of routine work. But on July 31, Mr. Delmar asked me to compile the statistics of immigration, which had never been published in any form accessible to the public. There was a law dating back to 1820 requiring returns to be rendered, and this had been done in a very imperfect way, and reports of it published by the State Department. Now the customs officers were instructed to send their reports to the Bureau of Statistics. Some of the latest of these were put into my hands and I prepared them for publication. The first year for which I prepared such a report was the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867. The returns were very crude and defective, and I had to write letters to customs officers all round the board, and even to steamship lines. But the work was begun then and I carried it forward as long as I remained in the Bureau, constantly improving and perfecting it, and introducing new features. The annual reports of the Bureau show how this was done.

But nothing was known of the statistics of immigration earlier than that date. There were some estimates made by prominent statisticians, and that was all. And yet every year reports had been sent, as above stated, to the Department of State, which was required by the law to publish

them, and it had done so. But the existence of these reports was scarcely known. They were buried away among the other documents of that department and wholly lost from view. Mr. Delmar learned of their existence, and brought me a few of them on Dec. 6, and I compiled a statement for the year 1860. There was no method in these reports, the figures being printed under the heads specified in the act with no attempt to tabulate them. Nothing whatever could be made of the reports as published. They must be worked into intelligible form before any use could be made of them. I think I gave Mr. Delmar the first intimation of the existence of these reports, for I find that I went to the State Department on Aug. 14, and again on Dec. 4, in search of them. It was probably at the last named date that I brought him some of them which the Department allowed me to take away. He must have then gone there and arranged to have them all sent to the Bureau of Statistics. The record is very defective on these points. They seem to have all come over on Dec. 11, and were on that day put into my hands for compilation.

As I had to prepare tables of immigration quarterly for publication, and drum up the customs officers, I did not have much time for this back work. I got up fine record entry books in which the returns were registered, which showed every minute detail that could be obtained, and these books were regularly kept as long as I remained in the Bureau. They would get full and have to be

renewed from time to time the same as all other records, but this was always done, and they constitute, if they are preserved, a permanent record of these operations. The quarterly and annual reports were extracted from these books.

By the end of 1868, working at odd spells, I had gotten the State Department reports into such form that conclusions could be drawn from them as to the number of immigrants reported to have reached our shores since the passage of the law requiring returns to be rendered, that is, from the year 1820. The important fact was of course the nationality, but careful attention was also paid to their occupations. Age and sex were also distinguished, and it was possible to show at what ports they arrived. But I desired to determine approximately the number who had arrived prior to 1820. For this there were no statistics, and all I could do was to hunt up the various estimates that different statisticians had made for particular periods. I visited all the libraries and searched out these documents. Dr. Seybert was one of the principal authorities consulted, but his estimates did not cover the entire period, and there were none that did so. After bringing everything of the kind together, I was still obliged to make my own estimate for a considerable part of the time, and what I then knew of the later years enabled me to correct the estimates for the earlier ones. I remember what a mass of data I accumulated, and how I proceeded to analyse and average it in order to arrive at a final estimate that

satisfied me. That estimate, as above stated, was 250,000.

On April 1, 1869, while Gen. Walker was in charge of the Bureau, I had a long talk with him, and told him all about the work. He manifested great interest, and encouraged me to go on. On May 8 I finished the compilation of the State Department reports and was ready to commence compiling the tables. On June 16 I record in my diary that "I am getting up a table of immigrants from the earliest period of the government." How long I was about this I have no means of determining, but the tables were probably all completed during the year 1870. After Mr. Young had been in charge some time he proposed to publish a special report on immigration, and though chiefly interested in showing the advantages of this country to immigrants, he wished to introduce some general statistics, and asked me what could be furnished. I showed him what I had, and he concluded to begin his report with my tables. On Feb. 10, 1871, he asked me to write out the results of my investigations, and I proceeded to do so, finishing it and sending it to him on the 13th. He embodied it in his report practically in my words. Copies of the report were received at the Bureau on June 5th. It was reprinted a year later and the date on the title-page changed. I have only a copy of this second impression, but nothing was ever changed in the portions contributed by me. I introduce here my discussion of the statistics and the tables 1 to 10. I draw special

attention to tables 6, 7, 8, and 10, in which I gave the outward movement and deducted it from the total arrivals. In this I was able to go back to 1861. This outward movement has recently assumed a special prominence along the Canadian border in the West, but at the time I collected the statistics its extent could not be determined.

These tables undoubtedly embody the most important information on the subject of immigration and the movement of population that had ever been published in this country. They are being constantly used as the basis of all discussions of the subject in and out of Congress. They are usually credited to the Bureau of Statistics simply, but sometimes to Dr. Edward Young, who really had nothing to do with them. My name of course does not appear in the report, and yet I am as much their author as I am of any of my books or articles. The economists who so frequently quote them little imagine to whom they are indebted for the privilege of doing so.

A number of errors occur in these tables, which have probably been corrected in later reports. No attempt is here made to do so.

SPECIAL REPORT

ON

IMMIGRATION

BY

EDWARD YOUNG, PH.D

CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS

[STATISTICS COMPILED AND ESTIMATES MADE

BY

LESTER F. WARD]

WASHINGTON:

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1871

Report on Immigration

Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department
Washington, March 7, 1871.

PRIOR to the year 1820 no official records were kept of the influx of foreign population to this country. The population of the Colonies at the commencement of the Revolutionary War has generally been estimated at 3,000,000, and it is probable that as many as one-third of these were born on the other side of the Atlantic, while the parents of a large portion of the remainder were among the early immigrants. During the war the influx was in great part suspended, but at its termination the tide of immigration resumed its flow with increased activity. The number of alien passengers who arrived between the years 1790 and 1820 has been estimated by statisticians at 225,000, to which may be added 25,000 arriving between the years 1776 and 1790, making an aggregate of 250,000 immigrants who had transferred their allegiance to the United States before the enactment of the passenger act of March 2, 1819. Since that period the stream of immigration, measured with approximate accuracy, has been steadily flowing toward this country. Its increase—from 1820, when 8,385 alien passengers landed on our shores, of which 6,024 were from the British | Isles, until 1854, when it reached the maximum of 427,833—though irregular, was on the whole rapid. Immediately previous to and during the late war the decline was marked, descending to 123,126 in 1858, and 121,282 in 1859, and to less than 92,000 in the

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years 1861 and 1862. After the termination of the war, however, immigration resumed its former magnitude, reaching from 249,061 in 1865 to 395,922 in 1869. In the year 1870, just closed, the arrivals during the last two quarters of the year have been diminished by the war in Europe, the whole immigration being but 378,796. To this should be added about 10,000, the estimated number who came across the Canadian frontier, either directly from the British provinces, or through them from Europe.

During the entire period from 1820 to 1870, the increase of each year over the one immediately preceding, if uniform, would average about 13 per cent. The aggregate number of immigrants who arrived between October 1, 1819, and December 31, 1870, is 7,553,865; and if the 250,000 estimated as arriving previous to the first-named date be included, the total number of aliens who have been permanently added to our population by direct immigration since the formation of the Government will reach 7,803,865.

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No. 1.—*A statement, by countries, of the number of alien passengers arrived in the United States from foreign countries, from the commencement of the Government to December 31, 1870.* [*The dates are inclusive.*]

Countries.	Prior to 1820.	1820 to 1830.	1831 to 1840.	1841 to 1850.	1851 to 1860.	1861 to 1870.	Aggregate.
England	.....	15,837	7,611	32,092	247,125	213,527	516,192
Ireland*	.....	57,278	198,233	733,434	936,665	774,883	2,700,493
Scotland	.....	3,180	2,667	3,712	38,331	36,733	84,623
Wales	.....	170	185	1,261	6,319	4,500	12,435
Great Britain, not specified	.....	5,362	74,495	277,264	109,653	77,333	544,107
Total from British Isles	.....	81,827	283,191	1,047,763	1,338,093	1,106,976	3,857,850
Germany	.....	7,583	148,204	422,477	907,780	781,456	2,267,500
Prussia	.....	146	4,250	12,149	43,887	40,551	100,983
Austria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,398	9,398
Sweden and Norway	.....	94	1,201	13,903	20,931	117,799	153,928
Denmark	.....	189	1,063	539	3,749	17,885	23,425
Holland	.....	1,127	1,412	8,251	10,789	9,539	31,118
France	.....	8,868	45,575	77,262	76,358	37,749	245,812
Switzerland	.....	3,257	4,821	4,644	25,011	23,839	61,572
Belgium	.....	28	22	5,074	4,738	7,416	17,278
Spain	.....	2,616	2,125	2,209	9,298	6,966	23,214
Portugal	.....	180	829	550	1,055	2,081	4,695
Italy	.....	389	2,211	1,590	7,012	12,796	23,998
Sardinia	.....	32	7	201	1,790	73	2,103
Sicily	.....	17	35	79	429	115	675
Malta	.....	1	35	78	5	8	127
Greece	.....	20	49	16	31	82	198
Russia	.....	89	277	551	457	2,671	4,045
Poland	.....	21	369	105	1,164	2,379	4,038
Hungary	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	488	488
Turkey	.....	21	7	59	83	137	307
China	.....	3	8	35	41,397	68,059	109,502
Japan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	259	259
India	.....	9	39	36	43	81	208
Arabia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	34
Syria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4
Persia	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	7	14
Asia, not specified	.....	3	1	4	15	4	27
Cape of Good Hope	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	86	88
Liberia	.....	1	8	5	19	31	64
Egypt	.....	.....	4	.....	5	11	20
Abyssinia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	5
Africa, not specified	.....	10	36	47	186	191	470
British America	.....	2,486	13,624	41,723	59,309	167,349	284,491
Mexico	.....	4,818	6,599	3,271	3,078	2,386	20,152
Central America	.....	107	44	368	449	96	1,064
Guiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55	55
Venezuela	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47	47
Peru	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	41	41
Chili	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	30
Brazil	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54	54
Buenos Ayres	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	10
Bolivia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3
New Granada	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	10
Paraguay	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
South America, not specified	.....	542	856	3,579	1,724	1,192	7,393
Cuba	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,240	4,240
Jamaica	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	100
Hayti	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	98	98
Porto Rico	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	57	57
West Indies, not specified	.....	3,998	12,301	13,528	10,660	5,205	45,692
Australia	.....	2	3	.....	104	138	247
Sandwich Islands	.....	1	6	28	44	76	155
East Indla Islands	.....	79	.....	.....	.....	21	100
New Zealand	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	15	19
Society Islands	.....	.....	.....	1	6	.....	7
Islands of the Pacific, not specified	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	5
Azores	.....	13	29	327	2,873	3,643	6,885
Bermudas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	63	63
Cape Verdes	.....	4	15	3	7	43	72
Madeira	.....	70	52	3	189	9	323
St. Helena	.....	.....	1	3	13	16	33
Canary Islands	.....	271	6	1	8	4	290
Miquelon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4
Iceland	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	1	11
Countries not specified	250,000	32,894	69,801	52,777	25,911	57,260	488,643
Corsica	.....	2	5	2	.....	3	12
Barbary States	.....	4	4	3	.....	.....	11
Aggregate	250,000	151,824	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,491,451	7,803,865

* The natives of Ireland are partly estimated on the basis of data obtained by the commissioners of emigration of New York, who have made careful inquiries on this subject. The total from the British Isles, given above, is from official returns to the Bureau of Statistics.

Pages XII-XIII. No. 2.—*Statement of the Nationalities of the Alien Passengers arrived in the United States during the fifty-one years ended December 31, 1870.*

Countries.	1820.*	1821.*	1822.*	1823.*	1824.*	1825.*	1826.*	1827.*	1828.*	1829.*	1830.*	1831.*	1832, and last quarter of 1831.	1833.†
England	1,782	3,073	856	851	713	1,002	1,459	2,521	2,735	2,149	733	251	944	2,966
Ireland‡	3,614	1,518	2,267	1,908	2,345	4,888	5,408	9,766	12,488	7,415	2,721	5,772	12,436	8,648
Scotland	268	293	198	180	257	113	230	460	1,041	111	29	226	158	1,921
Wales	.....	11	13	69	33	11	6	.....	17	3	7	131	.....	29
Great Britain, not specified‡	360	315	154	.....	261	969	624	1,205	1,559	916	384	1,867	4,229	.....
Total from British Isles	6,024	4,728	3,488	3,008	3,609	6,983	7,727	13,952	17,840	10,594	3,874	8,247	17,767	13,564
Germany	948	365	139	179	224	448	495	425	1,806	582	1,972	2,395	10,168	6,823
Prussia	20	18	9	4	6	2	16	7	45	15	4	18	26	165
Austria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sweden and Norway	3	12	10	1	9	4	16	13	10	13	3	13	313	16
Denmark	20	12	18	6	11	14	10	15	50	17	16	23	21	173
Holland	49	56	51	19	40	37	176	245	263	169	22	175	205	39
France	371	370	351	460	377	515	545	1,280	2,843	582	1,174	2,038	5,361	4,682
Switzerland	31	93	110	47	253	166	245	297	1,592	314	109	63	129	634
Belgium	1	2	10	2	1	1	2	7	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Spain	139	191	152	220	359	273	436	414	209	202	21	37	106	516
Portugal	35	18	28	24	13	13	16	7	14	9	3	.....	5	633
Italy	25	62	32	32	41	58	50	35	30	16	8	28	2	1,693
Sardinia	5	.....	1	1	2	17	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sicily	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	1	.....	4	7	1	.....	1	6
Malta	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Greece	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	4	.....	7	1	3	.....	1	1
Russia	14	7	10	7	7	10	4	19	7	1	3	1	52	159
Poland	5	1	3	3	4	1	.....	1	1	.....	2	.....	34	1
Hungary	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Turkey	1	.....	4	2	2	.....	2	1	6	1	2	.....	.....	1
China	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Japan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
India	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	1	3	1	.....	1	4	3
Arabia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Syria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Persia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Asia, not specified	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cape of Good Hope	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Liberia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Egypt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Abyssinia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Africa, not specified	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	.....	2	2	2	1
British America	209	184	204	167	155	314	223	165	267	409	189	176	608	1,194
Mexico	1	4	5	35	110	68	106	127	1,089	2,290	983	692	827	779
Central America	2	.....	3	.....	10	8	12	7	5	10	50	3	6	18

Guiana														
Venezuela														
Peru														
Chili														
Brazil														
Buenos Ayres														
Bolivia														
New Granada														
Paraguay														
South America, not specified	11	8	7	20	25	67	63	54	77	73	137	42	174	27
Cuba														
Jamaica														
Hayti														
Porto Rico														
West Indies, not specified	164	107	159	160	259	389	427	227	652	517	937	1,281	1,256	1,264
Australia			2											
Sandwich Islands	1											1		
East India Islands								79						
New Zealand														
Society Islands														
Islands of the Pacific, not specified														
Azores	3					1		4	3	1	1		5	3
Bermudas														
Cape Verdes			1	1		1	1					1		
Madeira		1	5			1		1	9	46	7	1		2
St. Helena														
Canary Islands	3			1	1	6	12		5	243				3
Miquelon														
Iceland														
Countries, not specified	294	2,886	2,106	1,954	2,386	799	241	1,487	537	6,405	13,799	7,394	{ 16,104 §7,303 }	26,235
Corsica				1				1					2	
Barbary States						1		3						
Total aliens‖	8,385	9,127	6,911	6,354	7,912	10,199	10,837	18,875	27,382	22,520	23,322	22,633	60,482	58,640

* Years ended September 30.

† Calendar year.

‡ The total from the British Isles is correct, but the number from Ireland is partly estimated on the basis of data obtained by the New York commissioners of emigration, who have made diligent inquiries on this subject.

§ Total during the last quarter of 1832; countries not stated.

‖ To obtain the net immigration, about one and two-thirds per cent. of the total aliens should be deducted for aliens not intending to remain in the United States. Those who died on the voyage to the United States are also unavoidably included in these figures.

Pages XIV–XV. No. 2.—*Statement of the Nationalities of the Alien Passengers arrived in the United States, &c.*—Continued.

Countries.	1834.*	1835.*	1836.*	1837.*	1838.*	1839.*	1840.*	1841.*	1842.*	1843.†	1844.‡	1845.‡	1846.‡
England	1,129	468	420	896	157	62	318	147	1,743	3,517	1,357	1,710	2,854
Ireland	24,474	20,927	30,578	28,508	12,645	23,963	29,430	37,772	51,342	19,670	33,490	44,821	51,752
Scotland	110	63	106	14	48	.....	21	35	24	41	23	368	305
Wales	1	16	2	6	.....	.....	.....	55	38	.....	3	11	147
Great Britain, not specified	9,250	8,423	12,578	11,302	5,215	10,209	2,274	15,951	20,200	4,872	12,970	17,121	18,874
Total from British Isles	34,964	29,897	43,684	40,726	18,065	34,234	42,043	53,960	73,347	28,100	47,843	64,031	73,932
Germany	17,654	8,245	20,139	23,036	11,369	19,794	28,581	13,727	18,287	11,432	19,226	33,138	57,010
Prussia	32	66	568	704	314	1,234	1,123	1,564	2,083	3,009	1,505	1,217	551
Austria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sweden and Norway	42	31	57	290	60	324	55	195	553	1,748	1,311	928	1,916
Denmark	24	37	416	109	52	56	152	31	35	29	25	54	114
Holland	87	124	301	312	27	85	57	214	330	330	184	791	979
France	2,989	2,696	4,443	5,074	3,675	7,198	7,419	5,006	4,504	3,346	3,155	7,663	10,583
Switzerland	1,389	548	445	383	123	607	500	751	483	553	839	471	698
Belgium	3	1	.....	.....	14	1	2	106	44	135	165	541	43
Spain	107	183	180	230	202	428	136	215	122	145	270	304	73
Portugal	44	29	29	34	24	19	12	7	15	32	16	14	2
Italy	103	56	107	36	82	76	28	166	93	108	79	63	88
Sardinia	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	3	6	58	69	59
Sicily	1	4	8	.....	4	2	9	13	4	3	4	9	4
Malta	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	28	.....	66	1	5	2	.....	4
Greece	.....	7	28	5	4	.....	3	.....	1	4	3	2	3
Russia	15	9	2	19	13	7	.....	174	28	6	13	1	248
Poland	54	54	53	81	41	46	5	15	10	17	36	6	4
Hungary	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Turkey	1	.....	3	.....	.....	1	1	6	2	5	10	3	4
China	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	3	3	6	7
Japan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
India	6	8	4	11	1	.....	1	1	2	2	1	.....	4
Arabia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Syria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Persia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	.....	.....	.....
Asia, not specified	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Cape of Good Hope	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Liberia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	.....
Egypt	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Abyssinia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Africa, not specified	1	14	6	2	2	.....	6	14	3	6	9	3	.....
British America	1,020	1,193	2,814	1,279	1,476	1,926	1,938	1,816	2,078	1,502	2,711	3,195	3,855
Mexico	885	1,032	798	627	211	353	395	352	403	398	197	498	222
Central America	9	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	12	.....	21	5
Guiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Venezuela	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Peru													
Chili													
Brazil													
Buenos Ayres													
Bolivia													
New Granada													
Paraguay													
South America, not specified	74	145	146	91	72	49	36	219	102	62	61	80	92
Cuba													
Jamaica													
Hayti													
Porto Rico													
West Indies, not specified	791	938	1,178	1,627	1,231	1,289	1,446	1,042	1,410	880	771	1,241	1,351
Australia						1	2						
Sandwich Islands		3	2					3		4			
East India Islands													
New Zealand													
Society Islands										1			
Islands of the Pacific, not specified													
Azores	1	2			6	7	5	3	4	8	23	5	15
Bermudas													
Cape Verdes	3	11									1	2	
Madeira	25	4	5	5	2		8						
St. Helena		1											3
Canary Islands	3								1				
Miquelon													
Iceland													
Countries, not specified	5,037	23	824	4,655	1,835	288	103	621	610	599	86	18	2,546
Corsica					1	2			1		1		
Barbary States					4							1	1
Total aliens§	65,365	45,374	76,242	79,340	38,914	68,069	84,066	80,289	104,565	52,496	78,615	114,371	154,416

* Calendar years.
† First three quarters.
‡ Years ended September 30.
§ To obtain the net immigration about one and two-thirds per cent. of the total aliens should be deducted for aliens not intending to remain in the United States. Those who died on the voyage to the United States are also unavoidably included in these figures.

Pages XVI–XVII. No. 2.—*Statement of the Nationalities of the Alien Passengers arrived in the United States, &c.*—Continued.

Countries.	1847.*	1848.*	1849.*	1850.*	1850.†	1851.‡	1852.‡	1853.‡	1854.‡	1855.‡	1856.‡	1857.‡	1858.‡
England	3,476	4,455	6,036	5,276	1,521	5,306	30,007	28,867	48,901	38,871	25,904	27,804	14,638
Ireland	105,536	112,934	159,398	133,806	30,198	221,213	159,548	162,649	105,931	56,382	59,008	70,211	34,410
Scotland	337	659	1,060	627	233	966	8,148	6,006	4,605	5,275	3,297	4,182	1,946
Wales	145	348	272	49	193	211	741	222	816	1,176	1,126	769	316
Great Britain, not specified §	19,344	29,697	47,764	35,727	7,459	45,004	1,803	2,481	.....	.....	9,672	9,874	4,519
Total from British Isles	128,838	148,093	214,530	175,485	39,604	272,740	200,247	200,225	160,253	97,199	99,007	112,840	55,829
Germany	73,444	58,014	60,062	63,168	14,969	71,322	143,575	140,653	206,054	66,219	63,807	83,798	42,291
Prussia	837	451	173	14	745	1,160	2,343	1,293	8,955	5,699	7,221	7,983	3,019
Austria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sweden and Norway	1,307	903	3,473	1,363	206	2,424	4,103	3,364	3,531	821	1,157	1,712	2,430
Denmark	13	210	8	10	10	14	3	32	691	528	173	1,035	232
Holland	2,631	918	1,190	576	108	352	1,719	600	1,534	2,588	1,395	1,775	185
France	20,040	7,743	5,841	8,009	1,372	20,126	6,763	10,770	13,317	6,044	7,246	2,397	3,155
Switzerland	192	319	13	146	179	427	2,788	2,748	7,953	4,433	1,780	2,080	1,056
Belgium	1,473	897	590	1,055	25	.....	8	87	266	1,506	1,982	627	184
Spain	158	164	329	325	104	435	391	1,091	1,433	951	786	714	1,282
Portugal	5	67	26	366	.....	50	68	95	72	205	128	92	177
Italy	160	219	208	360	46	423	297	267	984	1,024	962	632	889
Sardinia	.....	.....	.....	3	3	.....	10	232	219	5	380	343	257
Sicily	4	22	1	10	9	24	44	56	60	23	23	32	94
Malta	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Greece	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	10	12	1	.....	2	4	.....
Russia	5	1	44	31	.....	1	2	3	2	13	9	25	246
Poland	8	.....	4	3	2	10	110	33	208	462	20	124	9
Hungary	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Turkey	2	3	9	13	2	2	3	15	7	9	5	11	17
China	4	.....	3	3	.....	.....	.....	42	13,100	3,526	4,733	5,944	5,128
Japan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
India	8	6	8	4	.....	2	4	5	.....	6	13	1	5
Arabia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Syria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Persia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Asia, not specified	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....
Cape of Good Hope	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Liberia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4
Egypt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2
Abyssinia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Africa, not specified	.....	10	2	.....	.....	3	.....	8	.....	14	5	23	11
British America	3,827	6,473	6,890	7,796	1,580	7,438	352	5,424	6,891	7,761	6,493	5,670	4,603
Mexico	62	24	518	498	99	181	72	162	446	420	741	133	429
Central America	21	4	233	71	.....	96	.....	.....	24	1	303	2	11
Guiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Venezuela	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Peru													
Chili													
Brazil													
Buenos Ayres													
Bolivia													
New Granada													
Paraguay													
South America, not specified	70	150	190	2,462	91	59	39	38	136	191	184	83	131
Cuba													
Jamaica													
Hayti													
Porto Rico													
West Indies, not specified	1,251	1,338	1,073	2,903	268	1,929	1,232	406	1,036	887	1,337	923	647
Australia									11	4	7	6	32
Sandwich Islands	1	3		17					17	7	2	5	4
East India Islands													
New Zealand											1	1	
Society Islands									3	1			
Islands of the Pacific, not specified													
Azores	21	20	48	180		103	178	209	254	175	358	607	289
Bermudas													
Cape Verdes											2	3	2
Madeira	3					8		55	14	1		69	12
St. Helena						2	4		3	1			
Canary Islands													
Miquelon													
Iceland												10	
Countries, not specified	583	472	1,557	45,131	554	135	1,238	720	356	145	172	21,600	462
Corsica													
Barbary States			1										
Total aliens§	234,968	226,527	297,024	310,004	59,976	379,466	371,603	368,645	427,833	200,877	200,436	251,306	123,126

* Years ended September 30.
† Last quarter.
‡ Calendar years.
§ To obtain the net immigration about one and two-thirds per cent. of the total aliens should be deducted for aliens not intending to remain in the United States Those who died on the voyage to the United States are also unavoidably included in these figures.

No. 2.—*Statement of the Nationalities of the Alien Passengers arrived in the United States, &c.*—Continued.

Countries.	1859.*	1860.*	1861.*	1862.*	1863.*	1864.*	1865.*	1866.*	1867.*	1868.*	1869.*	1870.*	Total.
England	13,826	13,001	8,970	10,947	24,065	26,096	15,038	2,770	.....	11,107	55,046	59,488	516,192
Ireland	43,709	60,692	33,274	35,859	96,088	89,442	77,370	83,894	108,857	59,957	79,030	75,544	2,700,495
Scotland	2,293	1,613	767	657	1,940	3,476	3,037	672	.....	1,949	12,415	11,820	84,623
Wales	332	610	461	536	706	628	146	23	.....	103	1,225	672	12,435
Great Britain, not specified†	1,219	2,458	.....	.....	.....	.....	16,646	44,261	16,663	44,466	.....	3,565	544,105
Total from British Isles	61,379	78,374	43,472	47,990	122,799	116,951	112,237	131,620	125,520	107,582	147,716	151,089	3,857,850
Germany	39,315	50,746	30,189	24,985	31,989	54,379	80,797	110,440	121,240	111,503	124,766	91,168	2,267,500
Prussia	2,469	3,745	1,472	2,544	1,173	2,897	2,627	5,452	12,186	11,567	22	611	100,983
Austria	.....	.....	49	94	57	190	100	48	667	387	2,523	5,283	9,398
Sweden and Norway	1,091	298	616	892	1,627	2,249	6,109	12,633	7,055	20,420	41,833	24,365	153,928
Denmark	499	542	234	1,658	1,492	712	1,149	1,862	1,436	2,019	4,282	3,041	23,425
Holland	290	351	283	432	416	708	779	1,716	2,223	652	1,360	970	31,118
France	2,579	3,961	2,326	3,142	1,838	3,128	3,583	6,855	5,237	3,936	4,118	3,586	245,812
Switzerland	833	913	1,007	643	690	1,396	2,889	3,823	4,168	3,261	3,488	2,474	61,572
Belgium	25	53	153	169	301	389	741	1,254	789	1,578	1,003	1,039	17,278
Spain	1,283	932	448	348	500	917	692	718	904	816	1,112	511	23,214
Portugal	46	122	47	72	86	240	305	344	126	245	265	291	4,695
Italy	764	770	764	541	537	597	923	1,298	1,612	1,402	2,182	2,940	23,998
Sardinia	159	185	47	25	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,103
Sicily	9	64	.....	.....	9	3	1	84	12	6	.....	.....	675
Malta	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	127
Greece	1	1	1	5	4	5	7	10	10	8	17	15	198
Russia	91	65	34	79	77	256	183	287	205	204	580	766	4,045
Poland	106	82	48	63	94	165	528	412	310	248	87	424	4,038
Hungary	.....	.....	2	17	28	40	322	45	25	8	.....	1	488
Turkey	10	4	5	11	16	11	14	18	26	13	10	13	307
China	3,457	5,467	7,518	3,633	7,214	2,975	2,942	2,385	3,863	10,684	14,902	11,943	109,502
Japan	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	67	14	96	74	259
India	2	5	6	5	1	6	5	21	2	1	2	32	208
Arabia	.....	.....	2	2	.....	1	.....	.....	28	.....	.....	1	34
Syria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	4
Persia	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	4	14
Asia, not specified	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	27
Cape of Good Hope	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	21	2	.....	.....	34	12	9	88
Liberia	1	12	6	.....	1	.....	10	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	64
Egypt	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	4	.....	3	20
Abyssinia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	5
Africa, not specified	8	114	33	12	2	16	37	29	20	11	19	12	470
British America	4,163	4,514	2,069	3,275	3,464	3,636	21,586	32,150	6,014	10,894	30,921	53,340	284,491
Mexico	265	229	218	142	96	99	193	239	292	275	371	461	20,152
Central America	4	8	21	27	2	2	.....	4	4	3	8	25	,064
Guiana	.....	.....	12	6	.....	.....	.....	12	8	3	2	12	55
Venezuela	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	9	4	.....	7	5	2	9	47

Peru	.....	.....	13	5	4	1	.....	4	7	2	.....	5	41
Chili	.....	.....	8	2	1	1	12	.....	.....	1	1	4	30
Brazil	.....	.....	9	1	.....	.....	.....	1	3	8	18	14	54
Buenos Ayres	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	3	10
Bolivia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	3
New Granada	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	8	10
Paraguay	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
South America, not specified	155	208	41	132	88	140	132	273	196	126	35	29	7,393
Cuba	.....	.....	146	212	150	98	326	299	333	392	1,642	642	4,240
Jamaica	.....	.....	20	4	.....	.....	6	5	2	46	1	16	100
Hayti	.....	.....	16	25	5	3	7	6	6	7	5	18	98
Porto Rico	.....	.....	4	5	.....	.....	6	9	7	10	1	15	57
West Indies, not specified	879	1,384	172	339	337	618	506	576	469	403	1,367	418	45,692
Australia	44	.....	18	13	16	.....	35	12	1	1	33	9	247
Sandwich Islands	4	5	3	19	12	5	36	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	155
East India Islands	.....	.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	11	1	100
New Zealand	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	2	1	.....	.....	.....	11	19
Society Islands	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Islands of the Pacific, not specified	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	5
Azores	379	321	262	157	227	460	530	349	342	307	449	560	6,885
Bermudas	.....	.....	22	4	.....	3	17	5	4	.....	3	5	63
Cape Verdes	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	40	.....	.....	1	72
Madeira	28	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	3	3	.....	.....	323
St. Helena	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	2	1	.....	.....	7	33
Canary Islands	8	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	290
Miquelon and St. Pierre	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4
Iceland	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Countries, not specified	929	154	73	254	924	84	8,610	3,165	2,878	8,110	10,656	22,506	238,643
Corsica	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	12
Barbary States	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Total aliens‡	121,282	153,640	91,920	91,987	176,282	193,416	249,061	318,494	298,358	297,215	395,922	378,796	7,553,865

* Calendar years.

† The total from the British Isles is correct; but the number from Ireland is partly estimated on the basis of data obtained by the New York commissioners of emigration, who have made diligent inquiries on this subject.

‡ To obtain the net immigration, about one and two-thirds per cent. of the total aliens should be deducted for aliens not intending to remain in the United States. Those who died on the voyage to the United States are also unavoidably included in these figures, previous to the year 1867; which accounts for the discrepancies between these totals and those in statement No. 8.

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No. 3.—A Statement, in detail, of the Nationalities of Immigrants arrived in the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1870; also (without distinguishing sex or age) for the calendar year ended December 31, 1870.

Countries.	For year ended June 30, 1870.			For year ended December 31, 1870.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	
England	38,106	22,851	60,957	59,488
Ireland*	47,391	32,945	80,336	75,544
Scotland	7,605	4,916	12,521	11,820
Wales	574	437	1,011	672
Great Britain, not specified*	1,107	4,741	5,848	3,565
Total British Isles	94,783	65,890	160,673	151,089
Germany	70,688	47,537	118,225	91,779
Austria	2,340	2,084	4,424	5,283
Sweden	8,306	5,137	13,443	12,009
Norway	8,003	5,213	13,216	12,356
Denmark	2,519	1,564	4,083	3,041
Holland	663	403	1,066	970
Belgium	718	284	1,002	1,039
Switzerland	2,002	1,073	3,075	2,474
France	2,691	1,316	4,007	3,586
Spain	487	176	663	511
Portugal	175	80	255	291
Italy	2,132	759	2,891	2,940
Greece	20	2	22	15
Turkey	6	.....	6	13
Russia	550	357	907	766
Poland	140	83	223	424
Hungary	1	.....	1	1
Corsica	2	.....	2	3
China	14,624	1,116	15,740	11,943
Japan	46	2	48	74
India	19	5	24	32
Asia, not specified	1	.....	1	9
South Africa	15	5	20	12
Africa, not specified	11	.....	11	12
Dominion of Canada	21,647	16,261	37,908	51,278
Prince Edward Island	731	1,015	1,746	1,678
Newfoundland	157	301	458	255
British Columbia	12	3	15	9
British North American Provinces, not specified	176	108	284	120
Mexico	358	105	463	461
Central America	31	2	33	25
New Granada	1	.....	1	8
Venezuela	1	.....	1	9
Guiana	6	4	10	12
Brazil	13	.....	13	14
Chili	2	.....	2	4
South America, not specified	36	6	42	37
Cuba	848	385	1,233	642
Hayti	1	1	2	18
Jamaica	1	.....	1	16
Porto Rico	9	.....	9	15
Barbadoes	5	3	8	.....
New Providence	3	5	8	.....
West Indies, not specified	314	104	418	418
Azore Islands	275	167	442	560
St. Helena	2	3	5	7
Bermudas	3	.....	3	5
Australia	14	14	28	9
East India Islands	9	3	12	1
New Zealand	3	5	8	11
Countries not stated	12	10	22	22,512
Total alien passengers	235,612	151,591	387,203	378,796
Deduct No. not intending to remain in United States	.....	.....	.....	22,493
Total immigrants	.....	.....	.....	356,303

* Total from the British Isles is correct. The natives of Ireland are estimated from data obtained after diligent inquiry by the New York commissioners of emigration.

Page XXI. No. 4.—*Statement showing the numbers and nativities of alien immigrants who arrived at the port of New York during the ten years ended December 31, 1870.*

[From the report of the New York Commissioners of Emigration.]

Nationality.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.
Ireland	25,784	32,217	91,157	89,399	70,462	68,047	65,134	47,571	66,204	64,168
Germany	27,139	27,740	35,002	57,446	83,451	106,716	117,591	101,989	99,605	72,368
England	5,632	7,975	18,757	23,710	27,286	36,186	33,712	29,695	41,090	38,340
Scotland	659	692	1,937	1,126	3,962	4,979	6,315	7,390	10,643	10,731
France	1,200	1,187	1,303	1,804	2,059	3,246	3,204	2,811	2,795	2,210
Switzerland	1,398	1,254	1,194	1,652	2,513	3,685	3,985	3,302	2,999	537
Holland	331	456	407	615	729	1,506	2,156	1,265	1,247	525
Wales	697	1,062	1,143	659	505	540	142	699	1,111	545
Norway	93	22	238	88	158	583	209	1,008	3,465	2,678
Sweden	382	663	1,370	1,516	2,337	3,907	4,843	14,529	23,453	11,549
Italy	750	487	444	475	591	918	1,032	993	1,548	2,081
Belgium	165	195	456	186	97	157	1,623	149	146	83
Spain	190	124	202	196	224	315	203	210	210	156
West Indies	165	156	256	236	283	246	214	171	378	140
Denmark	612	1,689	1,580	565	727	1,526	1,372	1,087	2,600	2,441
Poland	43	50	137	198	423	231	268	268	598	577
Sardinia	67	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
South America	88	92	60	124	109	155	97	134	102	34
Portugal	14	13	3	34	42	96	79	13	60	5
Novia Scotia	11	67	77	40	77	40	22	52	119	23
Russia	36	46	47	37	93	154	185	145	376	433
Canada	19	33	17	35	43	28	42	33	27	34
Mexico	45	13	38	92	70	56	28	34	90	37
Sicily	1	9	1	3	3	1	.....	3	.....	.....
China	10	15	5	41	36	26	17	49	15	20
East Indies	2	1	3	1	7	15	4	2	25	13
Greece	1	6	2	13	5	5	8	10	7	14
Turkey	5	3	2	5	5	8	6	22	5	1
Africa	.....	.....	6	.....	37	15	2	10	17	11
Japan	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	12	87	3	4	1
Australia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44	26	12	9
Central America	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	7	21	38	24
Unknown	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Annual total	65,539	76,306	156,844	182,296	196,352	233,418	242,731	213,686	258,989	211,190

No. 5.—*A Statement, in detail, of the Occupations of Immigrants arrived in the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1870.*

Occupations.	Males.	Females.	Total.
PROFESSIONAL CALLINGS.			
Actors	4	.....	4
Chemists	43	.....	43
Clergymen	285	.....	285
Dentists	3	.....	3
Engineers	551	.....	551
Farriers	7	.....	7
Lawyers	77	.....	77
Musicians	282	7	289
Naturalists	3	.....	3
Physicians	232	.....	232
Priests	10	.....	10
Reporters	2	.....	2
Surgeon	1	.....	1
Surveyor	1	.....	1
Teachers	222	271	493
Professions not stated	131	.....	131
Total	1,854	278	2,132
ARTISTS.			
Architects	3	.....	3
Carver	1	.....	1
Engraver	1	.....	1
Image-maker	1	.....	1
Lithographer	1	.....	1
Photographers	3	.....	3
Artists not stated	170	20	190
Total	180	20	200
SKILLED WORKMEN.			
Bakers	990	.....	990
Barbers	21	.....	21
Blacksmiths	2,378	.....	2,378
Block-makers	3	.....	3
Boiler-makers	3	.....	3
Bookbinders	9	1	10
Braziers	3	.....	3
Brewers	362	.....	362
Brick-makers	3	.....	3
Butchers	727	.....	727
Cabinet-makers	6	.....	6
Carpenters	4,421	.....	4,421
Caulkers	6	.....	6
Chandler	1	.....	1
Cigar-makers	227	1	228
Confectioners	6	.....	6
Coopers	101	.....	101
Curriers	10	.....	10
Cutlers	5	.....	5
Distillers	2	.....	2
Divers	2	.....	2
Dressmakers	.....	21	21
Dyers	114	.....	114
File-makers	2	.....	2
Fuller	1	.....	1
Furrier	1	.....	1
Gilders	3	.....	3
Glaziers	2	.....	2
Gunsmiths	2	.....	2
Hatters	58	.....	58
Hoe-maker	1	.....	1
Instrument-maker	1	.....	1
Iron-workers	3	.....	3
Jewelers	409	.....	409
Joiners	343	.....	343
Locksmiths	13	.....	13
Masons	2,190	.....	2,190
Millers	258	.....	258
Milliners	.....	17	17
Millwrights	4	.....	4
Miners	4,763	.....	4,763
Molders	2	.....	2
Nail-makers	19	.....	19
Painters	753	.....	753
Pilot	1	.....	1
Plumbers	7	.....	7
Potters	8	.....	8
Printers	180	.....	180
Puddlers	2	.....	2
Rope-makers	3	.....	3
Saddlers	167	.....	167
Sail-makers	12	.....	12
Sawyer	1	.....	1
Seamstresses	.....	505	505
Shipwrights	9	.....	9
Shoebinder	.....	1	1
Shoemakers	1,557	.....	1,557
Soapmakers	2	.....	2
Spinners	7	3	10
Stonecutters	122	.....	122
Tailors	1,660	43	1,703
Tanners	102	.....	102
Telegraph operator	1	.....	1
Tinners	26	.....	26
Turners	8	.....	8
Weavers	1,178	.....	1,178
Wheelwrights	29	.....	29
Wool sorter	1	.....	1
Mechanics not stated	8,061	.....	8,061
Total	31,372	592	31,964
MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS.			
Agents	37	.....	37
Brokers	2	.....	2
Caterer	1	.....	1
Clerks	1,611	.....	1,611
Consuls	4	.....	4
Contractors	4	.....	4
Cooks	66	7	73
Druggists	51	.....	51
Editors	3	.....	3
Farmers	35,550	106	35,656
Firemen	22	.....	22
Fishermen	331	.....	331
Gardeners	45	6	51
Grocers	2	.....	2
Hotel-keepers	25	.....	25
Hunter	1	.....	1
Interpreters	4	.....	4
Jugglers	21	2	23
Laborers	84,220	357	84,577
Laundresses	.....	7	7
Lumbermen	6	.....	6
Manufacturers	49	.....	49
Merchants	7,056	17	7,073
Nuns	.....	36	36
Nurses	.....	6	6
Officers	16	.....	16
Operatives	.....	23	23
Overseer	1	.....	1
Peddlers	6	.....	6
Refugees	39	10	49
Rentier	1	.....	1
Sailors	1,420	.....	1,420
Servants	5,115	9,146	14,261
Shepherds	23	.....	23
Soldiers	117	.....	117
Stewardess	.....	1	1
Students	188	.....	188
Teamsters	6	.....	6
Travelers	15	.....	15
Total	136,058	9,724	145,782

No. 5.—*Statement of the Occupation of Immigrants arrived in United States, &c.*—Continued.

RECAPITULATION.

Occupations.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Professional callings	1,854	278	2,132
Artists	180	20	200
Skilled workmen	31,372	592	31,964
Miscellaneous occupations	136,058	9,724	145,782
Without occupation	3,806	12,723	16,529
Occupation not stated	62,342	128,254	190,596
Aggregate	235,612	151,591	387,203

No. 6.—*A Comparative Statement of Immigration and Emigration for the four and a half years from July* 1, 1866, *to December* 31, 1870, *inclusive.*

Period.	Total number of passengers arrived in the United States.	Total number of passengers departed from the United States.	Excess of arrivals over departures, or total increase of population by immigration.	Passengers not immigrants.	Net immigration.	Net emigration.
July 1 to December 31, 1866	174,068	34,153	139,915	25,353	148,715	8,800
January 1 to June 30, 1867	168,094	34,546	133,548	17,842	150,252	16,704
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1867	342,162	68,699	273,463	43,195	298,967	25,504
July 1 to December 31, 1867	171,533	33,318	138,215	28,184	143,349	5,134
Calendar year 1867	339,627	67,864	271,763	46,026	293,601	21,838
January 1 to June 30, 1868	156,615	34,017	122,598	17,775	138,840	16,242
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1868	328,148	67,335	260,813	45,959	282,189	21,376
July 1 to December 31, 1868	169,617	39,521	130,096	19,312	150,305	20,209
Calendar year 1868	326,232	73,538	252,694	37,087	289,145	36,451
January 1 to June 30, 1869	220,274	34,341	185,933	17,811	202,463	16,530
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1869	389,891	73,862	316,029	37,123	352,768	36,739
July 1 to December 31, 1869	208,929	43,608	165,321	26,105	182,824	17,503
Calendar year 1869	429,203	77,949	351,254	43,916	385,287	34,033
January 1 to June 30, 1870	227,856	38,278	189,578	23,477	204,379	14,801
Fiscal year ended June 30, 1870	436,785	81,886	354,899	49,582	387,203	32,304
July 1 to December 31, 1870	192,142	*50,000	142,142	40,218	151,924	9,782
Calendar year 1870	419,998	88,278	331,720	63,695	356,303	24,583
Total for 4½ years	1,689,128	341,782	1,347,346	216,077	1,473,051	125,705

*Estimated.

No. 7.—*A Comparative Statement of Immigration for the ten fiscal years from July* 1, 1860, *to June* 30, 1870.

Years ended—	Total number of passengers arrived in the United States.	Passengers not immigrants.			Net immigration.	Total aliens.
		Citizens of United States.	Foreigners not intending to remain in United States.	Total.		
June 30, 1861	166,216	23,551	2,137	25,688	140,528	142,665
June 30, 1862	92,375	20,314	2,612	22,926	69,449	72,061
June 30, 1863	155,627	22,811	2,756	25,567	130,060	132,816
June 30, 1864	220,251	26,142	355	26,497	193,754	194,109
June 30, 1865	212,972	31,609	696	32,305	180,667	181,363
June 30, 1866	373,229	40,731	1,794	42,525	330,704	332,498
June 30, 1867	342,162	39,118	4,077	43,195	298,967	303,044
June 30, 1868	328,148	40,060	5,899	45,959	282,189	288,088
June 30, 1869	389,891	26,817	10,306	37,123	352,768	363,074
June 30, 1870	436,785	33,865	15,717	49,582	387,203	402,920
Total	2,717,656	305,018	46,349	351,367	2,366,289	2,412,638

No. 8.—*A Comparative Statement of Immigration for the ten calendar years from 1861 to 1870, inclusive.*

Years ended—	Total number of passengers arrived in the United States.	Passengers not immigrants.			Net immigration.	Total aliens.
		Citizens of United States.	Foreigners not intending to remain in United States.	Total.		
December 31, 1861	112,605	20,782	2,103	22,885	89,720	91,823
December 31, 1862	114,301	22,476	2,820	25,296	89,005	91,825
December 31, 1863	199,744	23,529	1,692	25,221	174,523	176,215
December 31, 1864	221,531	28,119	221	28,340	193,191	193,412
December 31, 1865	287,390	38,338	658	38,996	248,394	249,052
December 31, 1866	359,940	41,449	3,651	45,100	314,840	318,491
December 31, 1867	339,627	41,269	4,757	46,026	293,601	298,358
December 31, 1868	326,232	29,017	8,070	37,087	289,145	297,215
December 31, 1869	429,203	33,281	10,635	43,916	385,287	395,922
December 31, 1870	419,998	41,202	22,493	63,695	356,303	378,796
Total	2,810,571	319,462	57,100	376,562	2,434,009	2,491,109

No. 9.—*A Statement, by Occupations, of the number of Passengers arrived in the United States for the fifty-one years ended December 31, 1870.* [*The dates are inclusive.*]

Occupations.	Prior to 1820.	1820 to 1830.	1831 to 1840.	1841 to 1850.	1851 to 1860.	1861 to 1870.	Aggreg'e.
Laborers	.....	10,280	53,169	281,229	527,639	526,199	1,398,516
Farmers	.....	15,005	88,240	256,880	404,712	211,742	976,579
Mechanics, not specified	.....	6,805	56,582	164,411	179,726	163,994	571,518
Merchants	.....	19,434	41,881	46,388	124,149	94,200	326,052
Servants	.....	1,327	2,571	24,538	21,058	91,204	140,698
Miners	.....	341	368	1,735	37,523	52,214	92,181
Mariners	.....	4,995	8,004	6,398	10,087	18,788	48,272
Clerks	.....	882	1,143	1,065	792	16,128	20,010
Weavers and spinners	.....	2,937	6,600	1,303	717	3,233	14,790
Physicians	.....	805	1,959	2,116	2,229	3,244	10,353
Seamstresses, dressmakers, and milliners	.....	413	1,672	2,096	1,065	3,405	8,651
Clergymen	.....	415	932	1,559	1,420	3,117	7,443
Bakers	.....	583	569	28	92	6,766	8,038
Artists	.....	139	513	1,223	615	3,669	6,159
Butchers	.....	329	432	76	108	5,651	6,596
Tailors	.....	983	2,252	65	334	4,786	8,420
Shoemakers	.....	1,109	1,966	63	336	4,563	8,037
Manufacturers	.....	175	107	1,833	1,005	1,400	4,520
Lawyers	.....	244	461	831	1,140	1,545	4,221
Masons	.....	793	1,435	24	58	4,682	6,992
Engineers	.....	226	311	654	825	1,738	3,754
Teachers	.....	275	267	832	154	2,109	3,637
Millers	.....	199	189	33	210	648	1,279
Painters	.....	232	369	8	38	1,484	2,131
Printers	.....	179	472	14	40	512	1,217
Musicians	.....	140	165	236	188	612	1,341
Actors	.....	183	87	233	85	268	856
Hatters	.....	137	114	1	4	102	358
Other occupations	.....	5,466	4,004	2,892	13,844	7,972	34,178
Occupations not stated, and without occupation	*250,000	101,442	363,252	969,411	1,544,494	1,572,938	4,801,537
Total	250,000	176,473	640,086	1,768,175	2,874,687	2,808,913	8,518,334
Deduct citizens of the United States	.....	24,649	40,961	54,924	276,473	317,462	714,469
Aliens	250,000	151,824	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,491,451	7,803,865

*Estimated.

No. 10.—*Statement, by customs districts, of the passengers arrived in the*
Page XXV. *United States during the calendar year 1870, distinguishing citizen from alien passengers, and permanent from transient immigrants.*

Districts.	Whole number of passengers arrived in the United States.	Passengers not immigrants.			Net immigration.	Total aliens.
		Citizens of the United States.	Foreigners not intending to remain in the United States.	Total passengers not immigrants.		
Boston and Charlestown	33,962	2,158	1,469	3,627	30,335	31,804
Edgartown	11	.....	11	11	.....	11
Gloucester	123	.....	.....	.....	123	123
New Bedford	118	4	5	9	109	114
Providence	10	.....	1	1	9	10
Fairfield	4	1	.....	1	3	3
New Haven	11	6	3	9	2	5
New York	247,106	19,924	2,494	22,418	224,688	227,182
Philadelphia	582	92	20	112	470	490
Erie	4	.....	.....	.....	4	4
Baltimore	10,037	689	76	765	9,272	9,348
Key West	644	79	.....	79	565	565
Fernandina	12	.....	12	12	.....	12
Texas	544	3	.....	3	541	541
Superior	818	.....	60	60	758	818
Puget Sound	2,855	2,416	428	2,844	11	439
Oregon	1,732	311	105	416	1,316	1,421
Willamette	73	17	22	39	34	56
San Francisco	14,368	1,620	.....	1,620	12,748	12,748
Huron	45,166	.....	.....	.....	45,166	45,166
Passamaquoddy	24,607	2,736	8,465	11,201	13,406	21,871
Portland and Falmouth	7,696	1,203	3,065	4,268	3,428	6,493
New Orleans	5,329	912	337	1,249	4,080	4,417
Detroit	4,800	.....	.....	.....	4,800	4,800
Champlain	12,233	6,749	3,667	10,416	1,817	5,484
Salem and Beverly	84	.....	.....	.....	84	84
Charleston	80	10	6	16	64	70
Buffalo Creek	833	.....	.....	.....	833	833
Savannah	21	9	5	14	7	12
Pensacola	52	19	.....	19	33	33
Genesee	4,477	1,690	1,851	3,541	936	2,787
Pearl River	7	6	.....	6	1	1
St. Augustine	8	.....	8	8	.....	8
Alaska	73	73	.....	73	.....	.....
Cuyahoga	928	401	338	739	189	527
Milwaukee	192	.....	.....	.....	192	192
Chicago	198	41	38	79	119	157
Oswego	107	.....	.....	.....	107	107
Marblehead	64	29	.....	29	35	35
Portsmouth	18	.....	.....	.....	18	18
Newburyport	7	.....	7	7	.....	7
Miami	2	2	.....	2	.....	.....
New London	2	2	.....	2	.....	.....
Aggregate	419,998	41,202	22,493	63,695	356,303	378,796

June 3, 1871—Ætat. 29.

55. Faith or Fact

History.—In 1871 the Washington *Chronicle* opened its columns to the discussion of various questions, and a number of letters appeared about religious matters. They were usually signed by some pseudonym, but the Rev. Byron Sunderland, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, contributed many over his own signature. In looking up old records in the fall of 1909 I found that I had written several letters and that some of them appeared in the *Chronicle*. I had failed to preserve copies, and had entirely forgotten all the circumstances. Presuming that there would be a file of the *Chronicle* in the Library of Congress, I wrote to my friend, Mr. J. Lebovitz, who had several times kindly helped me in my literary work, and explained to him the circumstances. He promptly sent me duplicate typewritten copies of this letter and the next, together with those of the ones to which they were replies. It thus appears that under the pseudonym of "Pyrrho," I had answered two letters signed "Trusting Hope." The following is the first of Trusting Hope's letters, which ap-

peared in the Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle*, Vol. IX, No. 181, Thursday, June 1, 1871, first page.

"ANXIOUS" AND "TRUSTING HOPE"

To the Editor of the Chronicle:

"Anxious" asks, in your paper of the 29th, "Is not my belief, no matter what it is, if drawn from the word of God and believed to be the truth, as good as any other person's belief?" I answer, the good or evil of any belief can only be determined by its results. If you have a belief that now causes you to hate and avoid sin, and if, in eternity, you find yourself saved, then, and not until then, can you say that your belief is entirely good. A moment's reflection will convince you that your believing a thing to be so does not make it so, though your belief may have been the result of great study and care. To illustrate, you may have spent much time in learning to detect counterfeit notes. A new counterfeit appears—so good an imitation of the genuine that honest bankers take and pass it. You, using all your "detective knowledge," take it, but, in paying it out, you encounter one more expert than yourself, who, pointing out its defects, shows you that it is counterfeit. Your believing it to be genuine did not make it so. Thus is it in religious belief. Our believing this or that cannot alter the facts. Faith in a few easily understood utterances of the Bible will insure our salvation from the control of sin in this life, and from its penalties in the life to come. You are right when you say: "All who believe in Christ and obey His commands will be saved." Make this truth the basis of your life; let its fruit be seen in your daily conduct, and don't occupy your time asking if there are other ways of salvation; instead, try to make all men believe the above truth. Salvation of men will be glorious however attained. But it will be sorrowful if you and I lose our salvation by wasting our time in the examination of questions for the answers to which we can well afford to wait until we meet the Great Teacher in the other world.

TRUSTING HOPE.

Whether I gave the name " Faith or Fact" to my letter I do not know, though this seems probable. It was written May 29, 1871, and signed: Pyrrho.

Daily Morning Chronicle, Washington, D.C., Vol. IX, No. 183, June 3, 1871, first page.

To the Editor of the Chronicle:

"Trusting Hope" is a fair representative of the old school orthodoxy. He says that "the good or evil of any belief can only be determined by its results," and that "believing a thing to be so does not make it so." Salvation, then, is not a question of faith but a question of fact. If you happen to believe the truth you will be saved; if not, not. And it makes no difference why your belief is wrong, it is simply the fact that it is wrong which insures your damnation. There is a definite boundary line which, though it cannot be seen, yet exists, and all who, from any cause, get over it, are lost. This is an admirable arrangement for those on one side the line but pretty hard for those on the other. It certainly must require a strong, trusting hope to get through life on such a doctrine. If Mr. T. H. should find in the end that he had made a mistake, neither his trust nor his hope would avail him anything then. He is lost.

PYRRHO.

56. The Analogy of Religion

History.—"Trusting Hope" (see the last title) replied to my letter, using the same title. His second letter appeared in the *Chronicle* for Wednesday, June 7, 1871 (*ibid.*, No. 186), and is as follows:

FACT AND FAITH

To the Editor of the Chronicle:

I reply to "Pyrrho" that whether my orthodoxy be old or young faith cannot alter facts, but may change results. Salvation is a question of both fact and faith. Salvation exists whether we believe it or not. To avail ourselves of it we must believe in it and comply with its conditions. You are right in saying "that it is simply the fact that a belief is wrong that insures damnation," just as truly as that the inebriate destroys himself by believing that whiskey is good for him.

Yes, there is a boundary line in Divine as in human law. Violate either and the penalty (unless pardoned) follows. But this line can be seen in the Divine law as well as in the human. Yes, there is a hard side to this arrangement. Is it sensible to choose it? Yes, it does require a strong trusting hope to get through life on this doctrine. But there is a *Strong Friend* who gives us this hope, and teaches us in His word how to keep it strong.

Thanks for the reminder that I may make a mistake. Is this danger a *mutual one?* Older school men than you or I have made this mistake. And men, too, who in their day must have held positions analogous to those of church members now. See Matthew, vii, verses 21, 22, 23.

That word "lost" which you use is a "terrible word." Faith in Jesus Christ's plan of salvation is the basis of my

TRUSTING HOPE.

It will be seen that he uses the same argument as that of Butler's *Analogy*. I was familiar with that work, and had always seen the fallacy involved. I seized this opportunity to point it out, and replied as follows on the 8th and it appeared on Saturday the 10th.

Ibid., No. 189, June 10, 1871, first page.

To the Editor of the Chronicle:

As near as I can understand "Trusting Hope," his doctrine is this: "Faith in Jesus Christ's plan of salvation" insures *salvation* to all who possess it. And he admits "that it is simply the fact that a belief is wrong that insures *damnation*." The Divine law therefore is, that faith secures salvation and want of faith secures damnation. This law, he intimates, is as inexorable as the laws of the physical universe. Salvation and damnation are the natural consequences of faith and want of faith, in the same sense that health and disease are the natural consequences of sobriety and inebriety. This is substantially, Bishop Butler's celebrated "Analogy of Religion."

It must follow from this that men are often punished for believing what they have been taught to believe; and for not believing what they have been taught not to believe; *i.e.*, for doing what they honestly think to be right, and what they would have done even if they could have avoided it.

But "Trusting Hope" claims that this is no more than is true also of physical laws. True enough; but here is the distinction: it is our mistakes, arising from our ignorance of physical laws, and the results which we *actually see* to follow from these mistakes, which teach us to know those laws and avoid the recurrence of these mistakes. It is this *temporal damnation*, through ignorance, which leads us to *temporal salvation*, through science. Does "Trusting Hope" suppose this to be true of eternity? Is the "gulf" between Dives and Lazarus ever recrossed? Is any profit ever derived from the experiences of Hell? We of this life certainly never derive any, since no one ever returns to tell us what they are. Those who are saved profit nothing by them, for they are saved already; and those who are lost, according to Scripture, are eternally lost. I desire, therefore, in all candor to ask "Trusting Hope" whether there is not, after all, a serious defect in this old time analogy, and whether, in fact, there *is* any proper analogy between the operation of physical and Divine laws applicable to human rewards and punishments.

PYRRHO.

57. Gag Law

History.—Written about the middle of June, 1871. This article relates to the "symposium" in which I participated (see the last two titles), and "Pyrrho" is here mentioned among the contributors. I may have written other letters with a different sobriquet, but I think the other writers (Oukapistos, etc.), were members of the League.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 16, June, 1871.

IN America the Press is said to be free. There is no greater popular error. It is true that the State does not interfere, the military authorities are not called upon to suppress the publication of private sentiments, and the Church cannot directly compel a paper to retract its utterances. Yet the latter power is daily exercised in a manner equally as effective and scarcely less contemptible than open and successful compulsion would be regarded.

The Press of to-day comes far short of expressing the popular mind. This is true in politics, but it is more especially apparent in religion. There are whole volumes of religious thought which never do and never can find utterance.

An amusing illustration of these remarks is to be seen in

the recent ebullition which sprung up on the occasion of the general convention of the Young Men's Christian Association, held in Washington during the latter part of May. Bishop Hopkins took especial pains to deliver a lengthy discourse against "Modern Skepticism," warning young men against the conclusions of Darwin and other scientists, and staking off his ground with an air of the greatest profundity. The discourse was, at bottom, hollow and full of glaring fallacies, but it was published entire in all the daily papers and made great capital of by the evangelical community. Great efforts were made by the Liberal and reflecting class here to refute this and other paralogisms of this august body, but they were generally denied a hearing. One daily paper, however, be it said to its credit, did condescend to vouchsafe a portion of *one column* for the discussion, *by both sides*, of these questions, though this distinction was made, viz., that the orthodox might be as severe as they pleased, but the un-orthodox must emasculate and dilute their articles to the greatest possible tenuity. Yet even under such a rule, over the *sobriquets* of "Delegate," "Oukapistos," "Critic," "A Sunday-school Scholar," and "Pyrrho," some telling blows have been dealt at the rotten citadel of Evangelicalism, and some small earnest given of the power that would be wielded by the Liberal element of the community if the Press was really free.

58. Benefit of Clergy

History.—Written in June, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 16, June, 1871.

IT was the custom in old times, in England, whenever a crime was committed, if the perpetrator of it was a person "in orders," instead of trying him by the civil tribunals, to turn him over to the ecclesiastical courts to be tried. This privilege was afterwards extended to many persons not in orders, and was at length carried so far as to embrace all persons who could read, it being presumed, in those early days, that any one who could read must have some high connection with the Church.

The ecclesiastical courts, being unwilling to admit that a member of the Church could be capable of committing a crime, gave them a kind of a mock trial, and invariably found them not guilty. So universal was this practice of clearing all who were tried in this manner that it was regarded a peculiar *benefit* to be turned over to the ecclesiastical courts; and, sensibly enough, in order to save the unnecessary expense of this farcical trial, the practice was finally adopted of letting them go as soon as it was found that they were entitled to the benefit of clergy, as this was styled. So certain was it that they could not possibly have been guilty of crime, since they held rank in the holy Church!

The result was that every depraved wretch who had an inclination to commit outrages upon society rushed into the Church, put on the cloak of religion, perpetrated his villainy and claimed the benefit of clergy. Such a loop-hole for the escape of criminals became, at length, intolerable, and in a more enlightened age the civil power found it necessary to abridge the benefit of clergy, and has finally practically abolished it.

The object of this notice is to show how eager the Church naturally is to screen its members from any guilt, in order to assert its own immaculate purity. And this is as true of it to-day as it was five centuries ago. We have a special example of this directly under our eye. One Wm. G. Finney, of the city of Washington, has just been defeated in a libel suit against the publisher of the *National Republican*, for publishing an account of his base criminality with a woman who had been placed under his official charge. He was fairly beaten by an impartial trial, and the unanimous verdict of twelve of his peers, *on the sole ground that everything published about him was true.*

This man was a prominent church-member, a zealous exhorter, a pragmatical spiritual adviser of the convicts confined in the jail, and a leading temperance reformer. No sooner was the accusation made public, exposing his base conduct, than he appealed to his church, had a trial, was acquitted and had his character completely vindicated, and all with the greatest alacrity! He then procured a trial by his temperance organization, which, as is well known here, is only a tail to the Congregational kite, and lo! his double innocence! He had received his *benefit of clergy*, and was now prepared to wage an offensive warfare against the libellous newspaper. The result has been stated, but very few were obliged to change their minds because the verdict of a corrupt church council had been overruled.

59. Washington Items (being an account of the meeting in Washington of The International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association)

History.—Some member of the League furnished a monthly account of special happenings in Washington. None came in this month and I supplied the deficiency with this article, written at the end of June, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 16, June, 1871.

WASHINGTON has had a visitation, not of Divine Providence, but of the self-elected representatives thereof, in the shape of a religious meeting styled "The International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association." Why this organization is known as the *Young* Men's Christian Association has hitherto been to us an inscrutable mystery, for its membership seems to be chiefly made up of fossils of the last generation; but Donn Piatt, the witty editor of the *Capital*, of this city, has at last satisfied our inquiring soul by the revelation that it is thus designated because its constituent members have been "*born again.*" He also suggests that they might

be born a few more times to great advantage, which is undoubtedly true, if the process would relieve them of some of the antiquated dogmas which make up their religion.

For a few days we had a perfect carnival of religious zeal. The Convention busied itself in the solution of such problems as, "How shall we meet the skeptics?" "What shall we do with the Catholics?" "How shall we raise money?" etc., while the enthusiasm of the collected piety otherwise let itself off in various other less dignified ways. Squads of labelled Y. M. C. A's marched arm-in-arm through the streets to the vocal music of religious hymns, and congregated on the street-corners to exhort sinners to repentance, making day and night hideous by such strains as:

"There is a fountain filled with blood."

and other butcher-like, bloodthirsty, stanzas, sung drawlingly to doleful airs. These officious dispensers of salvation even attempted to avail themselves of the attraction afforded by the music in one of the public parks, and failing to induce the performers to suspend, undertook to set up a religious side-show. They were soon convinced that however great may be the power of human lungs, especially under the inspiration of the glorious doctrines of damnation, they cannot advantageously compete with a brass band.

The observations of some of the laymen during the discussion of the questions mentioned above, were marked more for their simplicity than for their depth. For instance:

(From the *Chronicle's* report.)

Mr. Varnell considered and concurred in the remarks of the first speaker, that controversy with a skeptic was useless. * *

Mr. Harris, of Pittsburg, had known an old man to whom a minister went and told that God had given for him His only Son who loved Him. The man asked next day if that was true, and when satisfied that it was so he became a Christian, which he might not had he been approached with scientific discussion.

This is certainly the shortest of all the "short and easy" methods. It is, of course, expedient to have as little scien-

tific discussion as possible, for science is the "skeptic's stronghold.

But the event of the Convention was the address by Prof. Mark Hopkins, which we allude to elsewhere, entitled "Modern Skepticism in Its Relations to Young Men—How Shall It be Met by Our Associations?" The address was much more temperately written than such productions usually are, and the writer even conceded that "skepticism," "has strength,—but" he added, "there is something stronger." A consoling reflection.

The meeting seemed to be unanimously agreed that "faith in the Lord Jesus Christ" was the purgative pill which is to cleanse the souls of men of all defilement,—that "the blood of Jesus" was the patent medicine which would relieve humanity of its multitudinous ills and aches, and that all obstinate heretics who refused to take such nauseous physic were fit subjects for eternal brimstone. With this unshaken conviction, and in the innocent supposition that Professor Mark Hopkins had utterly demolished the groundwork and structure of "infidelity," the delegates packed up their trunks and took themselves off.

60. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 8] The Immaculate Conception

History.—Written June 4–6, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 16, June, 1871.

IT is strange, to say the least, that so important a fact as that the mother of Jesus was conceived without sin, should not have been generally known and definitively settled until the year 1854; yet such is its history. Great and good men, it is true, had long known it, philosophers and schoolmen had declared it, wise thinkers had reasoned it out, the majority of the Romish church had virtually adopted it, the Greek church had for twelve and the Roman for fourteen centuries been celebrating a festival in honor of the event; yet such was the doubt and uncertainty, and so great had been the diversity of opinion, even among the leaders of the church, that it was reserved for the present Pope *Pio Nono*, on the 8th of December 1854, to declare the doctrine at length irrevocably established.

The mode of arriving at this truth—for no glimpse of it is to be gathered from the Bible—is very peculiar and interesting as serving to illustrate the wonderful power of logic and its vast importance to man when turned to the

discovery of the great truths of divinity. It is becoming customary for the purpose of magnifying the rational powers, to refer to Le Verrier's remarkable discovery of the planet Neptune by deductions from the observed perturbation of Uranus; but how insignificant is this gross material circumstance, when compared with that we are discoursing of, and yet the latter is equally well calculated to exalt human nature.

The difference between the religious and the material or scientific reasoner is this: The latter, before commencing to reason, searches about in the sacred Universe of God after his premises in the shape of facts or things, and having found these, without knowing whether it is pleasing to God or not that he should possess a knowledge of them, proceeds to deduce his conclusions from their discovered existence. The former, on the other hand, derives his premises from his Bible, which he knows God intended him to read, since He gave it to a man as His express revelation to him of all He desired him to know of the facts of the Universe.

But he rationally concludes that God is not displeased that he should exercise these reasoning powers which He has given him in the discovery, by logical deduction from these facts, of other ulterior truths which they are thus found indirectly to inculcate. Hence he is not only far safer, since he has come legitimately by his premises, but he is much more certain that his conclusions are correct, since he knows his premises are true, because they are found in the word of God Himself. This is the way we have come into the possession of many valuable truths both with respect to the future and the past. And this is how we have received the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The divine nature of Jesus was taken as a starting point. But Jesus was born of a woman and after the manner of all men. He was begotten of the Holy Ghost, but the Holy Ghost would never condescend to have intercourse with one stained with sin. Mary was therefore clearly a *spotless* woman, and the only question remaining was at what

period she had been purified of the original sin. Regeneration or the new birth, of which I have previously spoken, is only attained through faith in the Saviour, but at this time the Saviour was not born. When then was Mary cleansed of sin? It is well known to every reader of Scripture that Jeremiah was sanctified before birth in his mother's womb (Jer. 1, 6). Here was another fact, another premise. The conclusion was irresistible that Mary was also thus sanctified; and there was no substantial reason why this sanctification should have taken place after rather than before conception. Yet it was here that the chief discussion arose. All were willing to admit the immaculate *birth* of Mary, but many hesitated long before conceding the purity of St. Anna's conception. Some held that the sanctification took place when the soul of Mary took possession of her body; others that it was while the fœtus was still in its embryonic stage; others still that it occurred immediately after conception; but the learning and logical powers of the great Franciscan scholastic, John Duns-Scotus, succeeded, at length, in so firmly establishing the extreme doctrine of the Immaculate *Conception*, that, as before remarked, it has become universal; and it is far better known to-day that the Blessed Virgin Mary was *begotten* without sin than it is that such a planet as Neptune exists.

The kindred doctrine of the Incarnation will naturally form the subject of my next sketch.

June, 1871—Ætat. 30.

61. Scraps of Ecclesiastical History

No. 4. Church Councils (*Continued*)

History.—Written June 6, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 16, June, 1871.

THE Councils which I considered in my previous article, were among the most important of the earlier ones. I shall dwell principally in the present notice upon the three most important of the latter synods, viz., those of Basel, Constance and Trent.

It may, however, be observed in passing, respecting some of the minor councils, that that of Chalcedon (451 A.D) asserted the doctrine of the union of the divine and human nature in Christ; the third Lateran Council (A.D. 1179 condemned the errors and impieties of the Waldenses and Albigenses (of whose persecution I shall treat on another occasion); the fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) held under Pope Innocent III, asserted and confirmed the dogma of transubstantiation and decreed the extirpation of heresy; the first synod of Lyon (1245 A.D.) was held for the purpose of promoting the Crusades, while the second synod of Lyon (1274 A.D.) made a last vain attempt to reunite the Greek and Latin churches. Interspersed between these were many other councils convened to suppress this or that particular heresy or to depose some offending officer.

The Council of Constance sat from A.D. 1414–1418 and plays a prominent part in the history of the Christian church. The reformatory doctrines of the Englishman Wickliff had reached the ears of a Bohemian preacher, named John Huss, who espoused their spirit and began preaching with great vehemence against the abuses of Catholicism. Jerome of Prague, another learned divine, joined in with Huss in the demand for reform. Their teachings were heretical and a council of the church was summoned at Constance to try them for their doctrines. History unites in acknowledging the trial was in all respects unfair, *ex parte* and farcical, but it accomplished its object and Huss and Jerome were both burned at the stake. Besides this act, three rival Popes, John XXII, Gregory XII, and Benedict XIII, were deposed by this council and Martin V, was elected. The Emperor Sigismond of Germany, sought to make it instrumental in bringing about a reform in the church, but in this he appears to have wholly failed. It was at this council also that the supremacy of these œcumenical synods over the pope himself was for the first time asserted.

The council of Basel was convened in the year 1431 A.D., at the instance of this same Pope, Martin V. It aimed at a reconciliation of the Hussite party, now become quite formidable, and pursued for a time a compromising policy, yielding now to the wishes of the Emperor Sigismond and now to those of the Pope. But Martin having died and been succeeded by Eugenius IV, an open rupture at length occurred between Eugenius and the council and the latter proceeded to declare the Pope a heretic and formally deposed him for simony and perjury. A reaction, however, immediately set in and the new Pope Felix V, whom they installed was obliged to resign in favor of Nicholas V, who refused to carry out the reformatory decrees of the council of Basel, and the latter, after a lingering decadence of ten years and a removal to Lausanne, was glad to receive the amnesty offered by Nicholas and close its career. Its decrees were never entered in the church registry at Rome

and are all regarded as null and void by the Catholic church, except in France and Germany where, with some modifications, they were included in the pragmatic sanction.

The council of Trent, which lasted, with some long intermissions, from Dec. 13, 1545, till Dec. 4, 1563, or nearly eighteen years, was in all respects the most celebrated of all the œcumenical councils. It acted upon such a large variety of subjects that it would be impossible to allude to any but the most important. Many questions looking to the reconciliation of the Papal See with the reformatory districts of Germany and with the Gallican church, were discussed and much time was devoted to matters of church discipline, but the great work of the council was the adoption of a *Rule of Faith*, in which it at length succeeded, and to the character of which I propose to confine the remainder of my remarks. The Rule of Faith adopted by the council of Trent consists of thirteen articles. The first is the theological creed of the believer. This does not greatly differ from that of all Christians. Its principal tenets are: the one God, maker of all things; one Lord Jesus Christ, begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, consubstantial with the Father, the Saviour of mankind; and one Holy Catholic and Apostolic church. The second admits the traditions of the church. The third gives the church full power of interpreting scripture. The fourth admits the seven Sacraments. The fifth embraces the doctrine of original sin and justification as laid down by the "holy Council of Trent." The sixth accepts the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The seventh holds that there is a Purgatory and that souls therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. The eighth declares it necessary to invoke the saints and venerate their relics. The ninth enjoins the worship of images of Christ, Mary, and the Saints. The tenth sanctions indulgences. The eleventh acknowledges the Roman church the Mother of all churches, and vows obedience to the Pope. The twelfth professes all other things declared by the holy council of Trent, and

anathemizes all things contrary thereto. The thirteenth renews all the above and promises to maintain this Rule of Faith to the end of life. Such was the work of the council of Trent and these dogmas are all of them still persistently maintained by the entire Roman church.

The last great œcumenical council called by Pope Pius IX, and whose sole object seemed to be to declare the Infallibility of the Pope, is of too recent origin to require further mention.

62. Comparative Theology

History.—Written July 12, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 17, June, 1871.

WE have been asked if we were opposed to religious instruction in schools and colleges. To this we always answer that we are. We deem any attempt to teach one religion to the youth of the country injurious, as tending to narrow their minds, instead of enlarging them. But this is simply because it has always been the practice to teach religion dogmatically, instead of scientifically. It is because, not content to teach religion as a fact, it is always deemed necessary to insist that it is also altogether true. It seems from this circumstance to form an exception to all other kinds of knowledge. The theological doctor tells his pupil, in effect, that such or such a doctrine is laid down in the Bible, and forms a constituent element of Christian faith. So far, good, because true. But when he goes on, as he always thinks he must, to add that this doctrine *is true*, and every other inconsistent therewith is false, he becomes wholly unscientific, and inflicts a real injury on his pupil by prejudicing his mind, and barring out all future investigation of the subject.

If theology could be taught scientifically and historically,

we should hail and welcome it, even if only one religion were considered. But the real demand of the age in this matter is a comparative theology. As comparative philology is becoming so vastly important, and promising even to illumine the dim origin of the human race, and as comparative anatomy is opening our eyes, and showing man his true place in nature, so comparative theology, involving a scientific and historical study of the many apparently incongruous and discordant religions which have prevailed in the world, would unfold the most profound and useful truths respecting human nature, and lay a foundation for the broadest and most enlightened views of human destiny.

July, 1871—Ætat. 30.

63. Religious War

History.—Written July 13, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 17, July, 1871.

NEW YORK has been the scene of a bloody conflict in the name of Christianity. One sect of the followers of the "meek and lowly Jesus" undertook to celebrate, by a pompous parade, a battle fought one hundred and eighty-one years ago, in which they happened to do the most butchery, and another sect of the same holy religion swore they should not. The result was a riot, a massacre, an internecine war. Those engaged in it were fortunately the worst class of society in the country, and though thoroughly imbued with love of Jesus and wholly devoted to the service of God, no one, but for the name of it, would care how many were dispatched to Heaven, or how few were left to earth. Yet over and above the national shame of a religious massacre in this age of science and this land of freedom, there are always many innocent and good citizens outraged, and much property and wealth wantonly destroyed in such disgraceful performances.

There is one lesson which this event has taught the American people, viz., that they are not yet wholly secure from religious fanaticism. Those wiseacres who so confidently

declare the impossibility of religious conflict, those who assert that the day of physical persecution for opinion's sake is past, may well reflect upon the New York massacre of the 13th of July, and confess their error. The spirit of both sects, and particularly of the Catholics, is as intolerant and belligerent as it was at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Catholics only lack opportunity and the Protestants consolidation, to precipitate the whole country, at any time, into a religious war equal to the terrible Thirty Years War of Europe in the seventeenth century.

July, 1871—Ætat. 30.

64. Doctrinal Sketches

[No. 9] The Incarnation

History.—Written July 9 and 10, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 17, July, 1871.

THE union of the human and divine in the person of Jesus Christ is one of the great mysteries of the Christian religion. He was the God-man, having at once all the attributes of divinity and all the susceptibilities to pain and pleasure of humanity. He was God clothed in the flesh. This wonderful combination was brought about in the following manner: there was a man named Joseph, a carpenter, who lived in a town called Nazareth, situated in Galilee, a province of Syria, and whose father's name was either Jacob or Heli (for authorities differ). This man married a virgin named Mary, but in a manner quite different from modern marriages, since, as it seems, they were not together, when the nuptials took place. When, however, Joseph first came into the presence of his wife, he discovered that she was with child. He was surprised at this, but, "being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example," he proposed to put her away privately. He meditated upon the matter for one night, and, while

dreaming, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and informed him that the child to which his wife was to give birth was begotten by the Holy Ghost, and not by any adulterous rival. It turned out that the angel Gabriel had previously appeared to Mary and forewarned her of this intended visit of the Holy Ghost, and thus prepared her to receive His embraces, and that He had subsequently appeared to her according to the promise, and impregnated her.

Whether the angel or Mary succeeded finally in convincing Joseph that his wife's pregnancy was due to divine causes or not, is not so certain. He evidently despaired of making such a story believed in his neighborhood, for just before the child was born he left Nazareth and went to a town called Bethlehem, in Judea, under pretence of being required there to pay his taxes, and took his wife with him. The inn at which they had to put up was full, and they were obliged to take lodgings in a stable, and sleep in a manger. Here the child was born. This child was Jesus Christ, the subsequent founder of our Christian religion, and by far the greatest personage that ever lived among men. That he should have proved such is not at all surprising. The blood of Divinity coursed in his veins. He was the immediate offspring of the Holy Ghost: the only begotten Son of God. This was unquestionably a real case of intercourse between the Deity and a mortal, and it was as clearly the only case of the kind. Hercules is said to have been the fruit of the union of Jupiter with Alcmena, Æneas, of Venus with Anchises, and other such condescensions on the part of the Gods are recorded in the books of Heathen mythology; but no one now credits these pagan fables, or even believes in the existence of their Deities. But we know that the Holy Ghost exists, thousands of men and women feeling each day his influence in their souls (though not just as Mary did); and we have the inspired authority of Matthew and Luke for the various parts of the story of the incarnation. It is a sacred romance, recounting the amours of one branch of the Godhead, the fruit of which was required to

complete the Trinity. But aside from the beauty of the story, the doctrine itself is of immense importance; for if the divine nature of Christ be disproved, the whole Christian fabric must fall to the ground.

July, 1871—Ætat. 30.

65. Scraps of Ecclesiastical History

No. 5. Persecution of the Albigenses

History.—Written July 11 and 12, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 17, July, 1871.

FROM the time that the Christian church acquired power and influence sufficient to enforce its doctrines, there never was a time, until it again lost that power, when there were not persecutions and massacres, of one description or another, going on in its name.

I shall be compelled to pass over many which would be of interest; as, for example, those directed against Arius, Nestorius, Pelagius, Celestius, Gottschalk and other advocates of new doctrines, together with their followers; as also the many persecutory invasions of the northern nations, with a view to making them proselytes to Christianity; and shall confine myself to a few of the most important persecutions and wars which the church has authorized, in the course of its history. And it may be here worthy of remark that those events of which I shall speak first occurred prior to the Reformation, and therefore had the sanction of the whole Christian Church.

The persecution of the Albigenses, though contemporary

with that of the Waldenses, will occupy me first, as being the less important, and therefore more readily disposed of. As late as the close of the 12th century, the South of France had been infested by a class of men who renounced the supremacy of the Popes and ignored the decrees of the Councils of the Church. Many attempts had been made to convert them to the true faith, and examples had been made of a few of them, but all to no avail.

Early in the 13th century a papal legate named Peter of Castlenau was sent among them commissioned to extirpate heresy in the dominions of Count Raymond VI, of Toulouse. His acts so exasperated the people that they formed a conspiracy and assassinated him. Count Raymond had tolerated these heretics on his lands, and the Church had long been seeking a pretext to deprive him of them. The murder of the legate furnished this pretext, and in the year 1209 Pope Innocent III authorized a crusade against him and the heretical band. The expedition was placed under the charge of three legates, Arnold, Abbott and Milo; while Simon, Count of Montford, commanded the troops. They marched upon the town of Beziers, took it by storm, and indiscriminately massacred 20,000 of its inhabitants, Catholics as well as heretics. Arnold gave orders to "kill them all," saying "God will know his own"! Many other places fell in the same manner, and hundreds of thousands were remorselessly butchered. On reaching Toulouse they met with a determined resistance, which required much delay and prolonged the war till the year 1229; by which time the unlimited license and indulgence granted to crusaders by the pope had caused the whole region to become desolated by all manner of outrage, and the Albigenses, hunted down on all sides and driven from their country, were utterly eradicated from the soil, and ceased to exist. Besides those slaughtered in battles and massacred by the troops, thousands were caught fleeing and turned over to the zealous order of Dominicans, to be burned at the stake.

66. The Sabbath Question—Christians and the Israelites

History.—Written October 20, 1871. Copied and mailed October 21, 1871. There was at that time a discussion going on about the Christian Sabbath, and certain persons were trying to have ordinances passed to forbid the vending of newspapers on Sunday. Others would stop the street cars from running on Sunday. A certain Mr. Wm. Henry Burr, whom I knew personally, took up the cudgel for the public and the newsboys, and the Rev. Dr. Byron Sunderland replied to him and others through the columns of the *Chronicle.* It seemed to me as though there was something more to be said, and I accordingly contributed this item to the discussion. The next day after it appeared (Oct. 31) Dr. Sunderland, in replying briefly to two other communications on the subject, said: "The article by 'Ypsilon' raises an interesting topic—'Are we Christians, Jews, or Infidels?' On that I propose to speak (Providence permitting) next Sabbath evening. I hope the writer and his friends will be present." For some reason I did

not go, probably because too busy, but also because I knew that the subject would be handled in a completely one-sided way, and without any historical background.

Daily Morning Chronicle, Washington, D. C., Vol. IX, No. 309, Oct., 30, 1871, second page.

To the Editor of the Chronicle:

Apropos of the present discussion of the question of the "Christian Sabbath," allow me a few brief suggestions. Not wishing to take part directly in this discussion by entering into Scripture arguments, I will confine myself to the mere right of the case.

Premising that justice is not a question of majorities, I may say that we have in Washington, for example, two sects, one of which believes that the seventh, and the other that the first day of the week should be observed as the sacred day, or Sabbath, consecrated to Divine worship. It will not perhaps be claimed that the scruples of the one sect are less binding or less sincere than those of the other, yet we find stringent laws in force requiring the observance of the first day of the week by all citizens.

The effect of this may perhaps be best observed upon the merchant class, who are more equally divided upon this question than any other class. Those who believe in observing the seventh day must close their shops on the first day by law. They are therefore compelled to lose both days, or else violate their religion by trading on their own Sabbath. It amounts practically to this: One religious sect, because it happens to outnumber the other, has so legislated as either to deprive them of the profits of one day's labor in seven, or else to seduce them, through pecuniary interest, into a violation of their consciences. That many adopt the latter alternative need surprise no one, for,

suppose the case reversed, how long would the Christian Sabbath be observed? Technical scruples always yield to the influence of physical need. Who would sacrifice one-sixth of his gains in business for a doubtful principle about which doctrinarians dispute? Shocked and horrified as the present ruling sect would at first become if compelled to observe the Jewish Sabbath, it would not be long before some pretext or subterfuge would be found to justify it. The arguments of "W. H. B.," which fall powerless upon present prejudice, would then be eagerly seized and accepted without criticism.

Is it not time that the constitutionality of Sunday laws, whose operation is so unjust and demoralizing, be inquired into? How long shall majorities control minorities in their consciences by appeals to their stomachs? What does it amount to but a system of refined persecution to enforce sectarian dogmas?

Respectfully yours,

YPSILON.

October 21, 1871.

67. Announcement

History.—Written early in September, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 18, August, 1871.

THE publication of the ICONOCLAST will be suspended with this number. For eighteen months we have struggled on, battling in a most unpopular cause, cheered only by the support and encouragement of a few earnest friends, and the conviction that the principles we have advocated are destined eventually to triumph. How much our humble efforts may have contributed to the diffusion of those principles we know not, but we believe that even the slightest rational advocacy in the cause we have espoused is not without avail. Though insufficiently supported from without, we have persisted in our little enterprise, and would not now yield but for a crisis in the management of the paper which it is here unnecessary to explain. We hope that the ICONOCLAST may at no distant day again present itself to the Liberal public, and in a form more deserving its patronage. In the meantime the N. L. R. L. will endeavor to extend its labors to other fields, continuing, as before, to exert itself on behalf of liberty, equality, and progress.

Unless, otherwise directed, we shall immediately return

to our subscribers all money received during the months of August, September, and October, and shall keep a record of all other indebtedness for future refundment. If this arrangement be unsatisfactory to any one, complaints can be addressed "THE ICONOCLAST, Washington, D. C."

November 10, 1871—Ætat. 30.

68. Mental vs. Physical Liberty

History.—Written August 9, 1871.

The Iconoclast, Washington, D. C., Vol. II, No. 18, August, 1871.

TO be free is the great object which all men seek, and this means physical freedom—to have the power to do as they please, to act according to their desires, is the end aimed at. It should never be lost from view, it should never be compromised, no substitute for it should ever be recognized. But we must distinguish between the *end* and the *means*, between the fact and the condition. The necessary means of securing physical liberty is mental liberty; it is the condition precedent. No people ever were free to act until they were first free to think. No religious nation ever was a free nation. The freedom the American nation enjoys is due altogether to its disregard of mental and spiritual authority. By a peculiar good fortune its foundations were laid by free-thinkers; its *magna charta* and its constitution were purged of all the puritanical and religious provisions which are to be found in all instruments of this nature. In other words, the government was founded in mental liberty, and physical liberty has grown out of it as naturally as the oak grows from the acorn. It is true that our judicature, which is in many respects indepen-

dent of the constitution, and is borrowed bodily from the bigoted code of England, has encroached largely upon the original spirit of mental freedom, and many modern interlopers from the priest-ridden countries of Europe have sought, and not wholly without success, to infuse their bigoted principles by driblets into our national polity; but it is all done either in violation of those charters or wholly outside of them. Our people are not, however, by any means free from the fetters of the mind. All the great moral questions which have been, and are being agitated in this country, abundantly establish this. They are in such a mental condition as willingly to submit to the abuses of authority. The slavery conflict revealed their mental bondage. The social questions now just fairly rising, for the first time, to the surface, only point to a prospective mental emancipation. The religious character of the women make them the willing slaves of their "lords" whom they worship while imagining they love. The struggle just now commencing between labor and capital shows the weakness of the former to lie in its *reverence*, and the strength of the latter in its *authority*. In other words, the hands of labor can never be unfettered till its brain is disenthralled. It is impossible to organize labor by its own enfranchisement, on account of its tendency to worship some other idol of fancy, which has no more to do with its interests than would the worship of Dagan. In this country that idol now is *political party*. To divert men from this fanaticism has thus far proved utterly impossible. In France that idol is *France*. In Germany it is *Empire*, and in England it is *Law*. Their minds are enslaved, and while this is so their bodies never can be freed. Give us mental freedom and we will give you physical freedom.

November 10, 1871—Ætat. 30.

69. The Social Evil

History.—Written September 4, 1871.

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GREAT sensation has been produced in this city during the past month by the action of a few "respectable women" in stirring up the "social evil." We cannot be expected to give the Protean subject an adequate notice in our columns, but we deem it quite appropriate to speak of it in reference to its religious phases. While we are more inclined to commend than to condemn the work which has been begun here, we cannot but confess that we regard it wholly superficial. The only way to reform the relations of the sexes is to reform the whole social theory. The root of the evil is in the religious beliefs of society. The low bestial condition of woman is due to the so-called divine revelation which works out her sphere. The Hebrew Bible teaches that she is the slave of man, and the Christian Bible, so far from repealing this part at least of Mosaism, solemnly re-enacts it. Now it makes no difference how clearly the good sense of an enlightened age may see that this is not the natural relation of the sexes, so long as what they believe to be divine revelation declares that such is the will of God; so long woman will be a slave

and pleasure-offering to man. It was this Biblical sanction that perpetuated chattel slavery a thousand years longer in Christendom than it otherwise could have existed, and still perpetuates it, and it is this alone that is now perpetuating sexual slavery.

This is the root of the evil. Its many branches are but necessary growths from it. In conformity with this general belief in the divinely appointed mission of woman, men have made such laws to punish her for all kinds of insubordination, and omitted to make any to punish the abuses of her masters. Woman being a mere chattel divinely ordained to contribute to the gratification of men's desires, and perform drudgery service for him, it could not be expected that she should be accorded any of the common human rights. All the codes of Christendom show that she has never had any. She is under "perpetual tutelage" till "*given* in marriage," and then she is "merged" in her husband. This rule has but one exception, and that is where she happens to do anything that men have enacted to be wrong; then she is punished far more severely than a man would be for the same offenses. The Church Councils of the Middle Ages gravely discussed the question whether woman had a soul, and though the majority perhaps agreed that she had, it was chiefly because they feared they could n't punish her enough in this world for the crimes that men saw fit to commit upon her person, and so instructed God Almighty to make her punishment eternal. Considering the purposes for which woman was divinely created, it was not of course to be expected that her master would allow her to train herself to any useful pursuit. She was fit only for two things—to gratify men's lusts, and do their menial service. For this reason, we see her only, either as a puppet, a lay figure, a *poupee*, adorned with gewgaws and utterly helpless; or else as a drudge, a toiling, haggard, jade, spawning forth periodically the crude, ungrafted fruit of ignorance, and returning immediately to her tub or her loom. And even these two "avenues" are unhesitatingly closed to her the moment

she happens to "fall"(?). To "fall" is to allow a man to violate the laws he has made for the sake of gratifying his lust through her. For him this brings no punishment. Who would enact a law to punish himself? But for her, his natural slave, who, should she slay him, would be guilty of petit treason, a higher crime than murder—for her, the penalty is perpetual ostracism from society and perpetual outlawry by the code.

The Old Testament teaches polygamy, because when it was written the Jews were chiefly polygamists. The New Testament teaches monogamy, because when it was written, by fusion with more enlightened peoples, they had become chiefly monogamous. But to monogamy, which was an advance, the New Testament added sanctity and indissolubility, which have grown up into another great branch of the social evil. As to the sanctity of the marriage, it was not the first attempt to make a thing holy by declaring it to be so. Yet the "Bible said so, and it must be so," has become the belief and the practice in the face of the horrid social picture which the world to-day presents.

As to the indissolubility of marriage, it became at length such a scourge that in the place of their literal revealed text the Christian legislatures of the world have proceeded of late to modify and abate it. Still it is by no means done away, and the social *lex non scripta*, always more snobbish and intolerant than statute law, looks upon a divorced woman as the next thing to a prostitute. The doctrine of indissolubility of marriage is, without exception, the most monstrous one to which humanity was ever compelled to submit. It requires two persons, too young to have possibly had sufficient experience to form a reasonable judgment upon such matters, and usually too, at a time when they are both laboring under absorbing romantic illusions, to form a partnership only dissoluble by death or actual adultery. If the law required such a partnership between two men for business purposes it would be far less absurd, because though young they would look deliberately upon

a business transaction. It is as if it first compelled them to drink to intoxication, and then, in that mental state, to form an indissoluble partnership!

These are the two great branches of the social evil. We cannot follow out its minor ramifications. The first by hedging woman round with intolerable conditions, and casting her out because too weak to comply with them, furnishes the *supply*. The second by rendering married life unhappy and intolerable—making the home a hell and the wife an object repulsive to the man's embraces, and thus driving him elsewhere to satisfy his nature—furnishes the *demand*.

Having held up this foul subject, reeking with loathsome disease and wretchedness, we now lay it at the door of the Church whence it originated and where it legitimately belongs.

November 10, 1871—Ætat. 30.

70. Scraps of Ecclesiastical History

No. 6. Persecution of the Waldenses

History.—Written August 29 and 30, 1871.

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THE persecution of the Waldenses forms a very prominent chapter in the history of Christianity. They were a species of dissenters from the Church of Rome, and although very religious and firm followers of Christ and believers in the Bible, did not subscribe to all the measures, nor recognize the forms of the Romish Church. They boastfully claimed a direct origin from the early apostolic church and a history and descent independent of the papal sovereignty; but this claim when subjected to critical historical investigation is found to have no basis. The best account of the origin of the name Waldenses is that which derives it from Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyon, who founded a new sect in his native city from which he, with the followers, was exiled by the intolerance of the community, and took refuge in the valleys which lie on the eastern slope of the Cottian Alps. The great Mont Cenis Tunnel just being completed, opens out upon the scene of bloody massacres of innocent human beings for opinion's sake, as if desirous to blot out by so splendid an achievement

of science the memory of so brutal an achievement of religion.

Locked up in these natural fastnesses the humble Vandors for a time fancied themselves safe from the griffin claws of religious intolerance. Industrious and frugal, they made the hills blossom with fruitfulness, and the valleys rich with golden grain. Free from the spirit of propagandism, they only asked to be permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. But the fiend of persecution soon found them out and the great ecclesiastical power sent its armies into the mountains to extirpate the sect. Many and bitter were the wars that were sustained by this numerically trifling band. Cold and remorseless were the butcheries of helpless women and children, in which these blood-thirsty bigots indulged in their Christian vengeance. Between the years 1332 and 1478 they were subject to constant persecution, but succeeded in surviving them. In 1541 Francis I of France ordered them to be extirpated. The French army marched in among them, but finding no organized resistance, attacked their homes, very much as our Christian soldiers attacked the Indian wigwams, and butchered the men, women, and children. A few they seized and ordered *to be Catholics*, which, seeing they could not do, belief not being subject to the will, they burned them alive. Yet the obstinate sect "would not down." Pope Paul IV forbade them to exercise their faith under penalty of being sent to the galleys. Touched at last with pity, in 1560 the Duke of Savoy, then in possession of Piedmont, suggested to the Pope that a conference be had between the Waldenses and the Roman divines. The proposition was rejected as monstrous, and he was compelled to renew the work of blood. Ten thousand men were dispatched to the spot and an indescribable scene took place. The Waldenses now gave up to despair and fought with all the fury of born fanatics. The resistance was gallant and the struggle desperate, but against such odds it could have but one result. They were overwhelmed by numbers and

discipline, and forced to take flight into the mountains, be taken prisoners, or burnt alive. The women were butchered to prevent the possibility of any more heretics being born, and the children were either slain with their mothers or left to perish without protectors, or conveyed away to Catholic asylums to be brought up in the faith.

Under the operation of the Edict of Nantes the families of the Waldenses, which had survived, having been driven into all parts of Europe, formed a determination to return in a body to their beloved valleys. They were led by Henry Amand, one of their pastors. They succeeded in their attempts and had a large flourishing community together on the scene of their early perils. But Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, and they found themselves again a prey to the fiend of persecution.

In 1689 an army of 22,000 men was sent into their territories to drive them out. They were this time better prepared for war, and besides had formed an alliance with the Piedmontese who rendered them much assistance. They are said to have fought 18 battles against the French without losing but 30 men. The French lost heavily, and after some further threats and delay, seemed to have abandoned the project of exterminating the Waldenses. From that time until the present King Victor Emmanuel ascended to the throne of Italy, they suffered constant molestation from the Catholic communities, who regarded them as outlaws. But that king, in the spirit of tolerance which has characterized him, soon admitted them to all the privileges of Roman Catholics.

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